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YANG HYONG-SOP TELEPHONE NOTICE TO YI CHAE-HYONG

SK220856 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 0807 GMT 22 May 85

[Telephone notice sent on 22 May from Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the SPA Standing Committee of the DPRK, to Yi Chae-hyong, speaker of the South Korean National Assembly -- read by announcer]

[Text] To Yi Chae-hyong, speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea:

As you know, it has been some 40 days since the DPRK SPA sent a letter containing a new peace proposal for North-South parliamentary talks to your National Assembly. However, so far your side has not sent a letter of reply to our proposal. I can only say that this is, indeed, a surprising fact unprecedented in the entire course of the past North-South dialogue.

Duly noting that on two occasions -- on 10 and 16 April -- your side held discussions among representatives of the three parties and stated that it would send a sincere reply to our proposal for parliamentary talks as soon as the National Assembly opens, we expressed the stand through our 30 April telephone notice that, even though a reply is somewhat overdue we will patiently wait for a sincere reply from your side. In the reply notice sent on 8 May in connection with the telephone notice, your side reaffirmed that it would send a reply at an early date when the National Assembly opens. Since this was a promise which your side officially made to our side, and since in the meantime the National Assembly has opened and the speaker and deputy speakers of the National Assembly have been elected, we have expected that your side would surely bring up for discussion as the matter of first priority our urgent and important peace proposal for holding North-South parliamentary talks and announcing a joint declaration of nonaggression, and would send a sincere reply soon as promised originally. We consider that your side will not view our expectation as unreasonable. However, until today, more than 10 days since the opening of the National Assembly, your side has not only failed to send a letter of reply, but has also continued to try to delay answering, manipulating public opinion as if your side were still in the course of discussing our proposal.

We can only interpret your side's delay in sending a reply letter without justified reason as lack of sincerity regarding North-South dialogue and as using the issue of parliamentary talks for some other political purpose. With regard to your side's attitude of delaying without supplying an answer which should have been made already, public opinion at home and abroad now questions whether or not your side is sincere in saying that you hope for the relaxation of tension and for peace.

Deeming it very regrettable that your side, not keeping faith and breaking its own promise, has failed to forward a letter of reply, we hope that your side's insincere attitude toward our proposal for parliamentary talks will not have a negative impact on the overall North-South talks, including the Red Cross talks, in the future. Time is not something that is given all the time and there is a limit to our waiting. I hope that your National Assembly will pay due attention to this telephone message of ours and will send an affirmative answer at the earliest possible date.

[Dated] 22 May 1985

[Signed] Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the SPA of the DPRK

ANNIVERSARY OF KWANGJU UPRISING COMMEMORATED

Pyongyang Rally Held

SK190437 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0401 GMT 19 May 85

[Excerpt] Pyongyang May 18 (KCNA) -- A Pyongyang mass meeting commemorating the fifth anniversary of the heroic Kwangju popular uprising was held today at the Pyongyang indoor stadium. A portrait of the great leader President Kim Il-song was placed on the platform.

Present at the meeting were Comrade Pak Song-chol, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and vice-president of the DPRK; Comrade Ho Tam, member of the Political Bureau, and secretary of the WPK Central Committee and chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland; Comrade Kim Hwan, member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the Administration Council; Comrade So Yun-sok, member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and chief secretary of the Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee; Comrade Paek Hak-nim, member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and Vice-Minister of People's Armed Forces; Comrade Ho Chong-suk, secretary of the WPK Central Committee and leading personnel of political parties and public organisations.

Kim Hwan Addresses Rally

SK181200 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 0804 GMT 18 May 85

[Speech by Kim Hwan, member of the WPK Central Committee Political Bureau and vice premier of the DPRK State Administration Council, at an 18 May Pyongyang rally at Pyongyang Stadium marking the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju incident -- recorded]

[Text] Comrades: Today we are meaningfully marking the fifth anniversary of the heroic Kwangju popular uprising, under circumstances in which the entire working people are achieving proud successes at all guardposts of socialist construction to decorate this year which marks the 40th anniversaries of national liberation and the founding of the party as the most brilliant year in the history of our fatherland, upholding the militant tasks put forth by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song in his New Year's address, the decisions made at the 10th plenum of the 6th party Central Committee, and the slogans issued by the party Central Committee, and under circumstances in which the South Korean people, youths, students are vigorously staging the anti-U.S. struggle for independence and antifascist struggle for democratization.

The Kwangju popular uprising was a righteous anti-imperialist and antifascist struggle of resistance for democracy and national salvation staged against the criminal maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and their stooge who tried to revive the fascist Yusin system, which has already been buried in a grave, and a struggle for the democratic development of South Korean society and the peaceful reunification of the country. It was also a mass armed uprising in which the uprisers armed themselves with weapons wrested from the enemy and staged a death-defying struggle of resistance against the vast regular armed forces of the puppet clique.

Following the October incident, which put an end to the notorious Yusin dictator, aspirations for democracy and national reunification among the South Korean people increased more than at any previous time. Disconcerted by this, the U.S. imperialists instigated, from behind the scenes, the Yusin remnants, who had already been judged by history, to thwart with bayonets the patriotic advance of the South Korean people, while babbling about democratic development, in order to bring their fascist colonial rule under control in the face of a catastrophic crisis.

The fascist military Chon Tu-hwan clique, freshly emerged under the protection of the U.S. imperialists, imposed and expanded martial law throughout South Korea on 17 May [as heard] and created an unprecedented fascist whirlwind of suppressing the patriotic people and democratic personages.

Banning all kinds of political activities, they arrested and imprisoned at random democratic personages and patriotic youths and students and turned the land of the South into a crazy stage on which the military hooligans ran like maniacs. This, however, only provoked greater outrage among the vast strata of the South Korean popular masses.

The South Korean people, youths, and students stubbornly resisted the reactionary offensive of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges and finally exploded into the Kwangju popular uprising. [applause]

On 18 May, citizens, youths, and students in Kwangju who rose in response to the demonstration struggle of the students at Chonnam University went out into the streets day after day calling for the practice of democratic reforms and the establishment of a democratic government, while shouting such slogans as "Dismantle martial law," "Abolish the Yusin system," and "Chon Tu-hwan, step down." They completely drove the army, which was enforcing martial law, and which blocked their just and patriotic struggle, into the city outskirts, and brought the city under their control. [applause]

The masses from all strata participating in the uprising burned down the organs of the puppet government in 21 dong [administrative units] in defiance of the fascist suppression of the heavily armed puppet army and puppet police, destroyed pro-government organs in some 50 dong, and occupied all the buildings of such public and government organizations as the municipal government, provincial government, broadcasting station, banks, and post offices.

Raiding, in succession, the puppet police stations, armories, and munitions storehouses, the uprising masses seized some 5,400 weapons of various kinds and hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunitions, and destroyed and burned 459 vehicles of various kinds.

A total of 1 million people from all walks of life, including workers, peasants, youths, and students living in the city of Kwangju and surrounding areas, participated in the uprising, along with the unemployed, intellectuals, small merchants, religious personages, and businessmen. The core members of student organizations of struggle in other areas, including Seoul, also rushed to Kwangju and participated in the struggle, together with the Kwangju uprisers.

Organizing autonomous organizations and armed organization such as a committee for democratic struggle and (?citizens' army), the uprising masses fought methodically and defended the city of Kwangju to the last for 10 long days under the worst circumstances in which food and water supplies were cut, with the city beleaguered in all directions by the enemy.

The Kwangju popular uprising was, indeed, a heroic resistance that graphically showed the stout mettle and will of the South Korean people, aspiring for freedom, democracy, and the peaceful reunification of the country, and was the largest and most fierce armed uprising in the history of the modern struggle of the Asian peoples for liberation. [applause]

From the first day the flames of the popular uprising blazed in Kwangju, the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan fascist clique, their lackeys, answered by perpetrating the most bestial and outrageous atrocity of massacre. The U.S. imperialists issued an order of suppression to quell the uprising masses with iron fists, handing many divisions of the puppet armed forces under their command and armored units over to the military fascist clique.

Also, they bolstered the atrocity of the Kwangju massacre by the military rascals, declaring a martial law for the U.S. imperialist aggressors, occupying South Korea, and making threats by massing many types of combat warships, including aircraft carriers, and warplanes in and around South Korea. Under the manipulation of the U.S. imperialists, the fascist clique mobilized some 70,000 armed forces, including notorious special combat paratroopers, some 150 tanks and armored cars, some 100 guns, large helicopters, and even missiles in operations against the Kwangju citizens.

What is worse, the fascist murderers issued a murderous order to allow the killing of more than 70 percent of the Kwangju citizens and slaughtering of all young men, mobilizing special combat paratroopers, who were made to take hallucinogens, in quelling the uprising. They also indiscriminately murdered the uprising masses by using nerve gas shells and other poisonous chemical weapons. Furthermore, they gouged out the breasts of female students and murdered them, cut open the abdomen of a pregnant woman, took out the fetus, and slaughtered her, and perpetrated other bestial and appalling atrocities, thus changing the whole of Kwangju into a sea of blood and a city of death.

Because of the shuddering murderous atrocities by the U.S. imperialists and the military and fascist clique, some 5,000 people were killed and some 14,000 people were injured in Kwangju and some 1,700 innocent residents were killed or injured in Mokpo, Hwasun, Naju, Yosun, and Suncheon.

The atrocity of the Kwangju massacre, which was perpetrated by the Chon Tu-hwan and No Tae-u ring under the command of the U.S. imperialists, was the most bestial and outrageous butchery of the nation, which far exceeded the bestiality and despotic nature of murderers who had been infamous for an evil reputation in the world, and the most brutal criminal act which cannot be blotted out by anything.

Even though the Kwangju popular uprising was frustrated by frenzied armed suppression by the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan fascist clique, their lackeys, it added a shining page to the history of the South Korean people's anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle for national salvation and the history of the struggle of the world's oppressed for liberation. [applause]

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: The Kwangju people's heroic uprising, in which numerous citizens rose up all at one time and bravely fought with arms in hand, greatly shook the fascist ruling foundation of South Korea and made the U.S. imperialists and the military and fascist elements, their stooges, tremble in unrest and terror.

The Kwangju popular uprising dealt a heavy blow to the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule over South Korea and opened a new turn in the history of the South Korean people's anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation. [applause]

Through the atrocity of the Kwangju massacre, the South Korean people were further awakened in terms of the nation and class, clearly recognized that the U.S. imperialists are not protectors and defenders of human rights, but heinous stranglers of democracy and civil rights, truculent indirect murderers, and ringleaders of aggression, and redirected the spearhead of struggle to opposing the U.S. imperialists.

The Kwangju popular uprising, through which the invincible mettle and patriotic fighting spirit of the South Korean people were unreservedly displayed, greatly encouraged the struggle of the world's oppressed people for national independence and sovereignty.

The immortal exploits attained by the resistance fighters of Kwangju will genuinely shine forever in the history of the South Korean people's anti-imperialists and anti-fascist struggle for national salvation, and their lofty fighting spirit will be alive forever in the hearts of our people and the world's people. [applause]

Availing myself of this occasion marking the fifth anniversary of the heroic Kwangju popular uprising, and in the name of all people in the northern half of the republic, I express lofty respect to the participants in the uprising, who bravely fought, during the days of resistance, for national sovereignty, the democratization of society, and the peaceful reunification of the country, and extend sincere condolence to the martyrs who were sacrificed in the street of resistance and their bereaved families.

Comrades, it has been 5 years since the heroic Kwangju popular uprising. Yet the aspirations of the Kwangju uprisers and the South Korean people for independence, democracy, and reunification have not been realized.

Having suffered from a heavy blow dealt by the Kwangju popular uprising, the U.S. imperialists established the most despotic military, fascist, and dictatorial system, which far exceeds the Yusin fascist system, to cope with the colonial rule, facing crises, and further intensified the colonial and fascist rule. Having coped with the situation by replacing their stooges whenever their ruling foundation had been shaken, the U.S. imperialists embarked upon the road of having the Chon Tu-hwan military and fascist clique, the executor of the Kwangju atrocity, exercise the most outrageous military suppressive rule.

With the support of the U.S. imperialists, the Chon Tu-hwan fascist clique kicked up the fascist racket of indiscriminately arresting, imprisoning, punishing, and killing democratic figures, youths, students, and patriotic people who demanded the country's peaceful reunification on political ruins in which all political parties and organizations were coercively dissolved, and turned South Korea into a huge military prison by sharply increasing suppressive organs and forces and by badly revising or fabricating fascist evil laws.

Recently, in particular, the fascist clique has perpetrated the suppression of democratic forces in a more cunning and vicious manner to obliterate the anti-U.S. and anti-fascist struggle of the youths, students, and people of all walks of life which have been strengthened and developed with each passing day, further increasing police intelligence forces and modernizing suppressive equipment. Unable to stand strong protest and pressure at home and abroad, the wretches have arrested and imprisoned more progressive youths and students and patriots while performing a deceptive drama of acquittal, such as through amnesty or lifting of a ban.

On 19 April alone, the fascist clique arrested and detained some 230 youths and students in Seoul. With the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising at hand, it has perpetrated a despotic act of arresting some 160 patriotic youths and students and arresting and detaining some 40 democratic figures for a few days after 10 May, kicking up a wholesale roundup racket throughout South Korea.

In addition, the wretches have mobilized all police intelligence networks in checking the trains and passengers heading for Kwangju, have taken unprecedented suppressive measures to prevent the occurrence of popular resistance in Seoul, Kwangju, Pusan, Taegu, and other large cities, and have used even electronic equipment in searching for and suppressing progressive students. As a result of this, South Korea is enveloped in a horrendous atmosphere, little different from the situation of martial law, and the South Korean people are groaning under the oppressive dark rule.

Through the despotic military and fascist dictatorship, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have, on the one hand, strengthened a blood suppression of the people and, on the other hand, blocked the road to the country's peace and peaceful reunification, frantically running wild in reckless aggression and war preparation maneuvers.

Having openly proclaimed the Korean peninsula to be the forefront of the U.S. strategy and the theater for the showdown of the 1980's, the U.S. imperialist war maniacs are introducing more nuclear war means and modern weapons for massacre into South Korea, where some 1,000 nuclear weapons and many types of nuclear delivery means have already been deployed, and are indiscreetly maneuvering to ignite a new war in Korea, constantly placing the U.S. troops, the puppet army, and even civilian armed forces under the posture of mobilization.

Recently, in particular, the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets framed a so-called offensive strategy to invade the northern half of the republic, revised and supplemented the overall operational combat plan in conformity with the strategy, reorganized the armed forces for aggression to be offensive forces, and drastically augmented commando armed forces numbering 180,000, the combat forces of the Marine Corps, armored units, tank units, and other units which assume an offensive nature.

In addition, the wretches have carried out the forward deployment of the U.S. imperialist aggressors occupying South Korea and the puppet army in frontal areas near the Military Demarcation Line [MDL] in order to conduct the attack against the North at any moment.

The 65th puppet army division and countless units in central areas, which were supposed to advance into operational areas once a war is launched, have been successively moved and deployed in frontal areas. More than 80-90 percent of the armed forces in South Korea are being deployed in (?frontal) areas near the MDL and they, prepared for a posture of conducting attack operations at any moment, are waiting for an order to attack.

These military moves of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are a grave provocative act running counter to our country's peace and peaceful reunification. They assume a more grave nature because they were conducted after we proposed North-South parliamentary talks to ease the country's tense situation and bring peace. [shouting of slogan]

Originally, the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets systematically answered our sincere efforts for the country's peace and peaceful reunification with the augmentation of armed forces and the aggravation of tension. When detente began prevailing between the North and South and North-South economic talks and Red Cross talks were held on the occasion of our relief measure, based on compatriotic love and humanitarianism for the South Korean flood victims, they premeditatedly plunged North-South talks into the state of suspension by triggering the Panmunjom shooting incident and by waging the "Team Spirit-85" war exercise. When we set forth a new peace proposal for North-South parliamentary talks, they successively waged such provocative war exercises as "Myolgong-85," "Bat-85," and "SpheX-85," thus further aggravating the situation.

The U.S. imperialists' and the South Korean puppets' maneuvers for a new war are being pushed ahead in a more dangerous and undisguised manner, especially since traitor Chon Tu-hwan's junket to the United States and the hatching of a plot for a war of northward invasion at the ensuing South Korea-U.S. Security Consultative Meeting.

All the unusual moves being made in South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets clearly show that what actually exists on the Korean peninsula is not the threat of southward invasion but the imminent danger of a war of northward invasion.

I sternly denounce, with fervent national outrage, the U.S. imperialist aggressors who have occupied the southern part of our fatherland with military forces and submerged Kwangju, a city of resistance, in a sea of blood, and who are now trying to put our people through the catastrophe of war while standing in the way of our national reunification, and the fascist Chon Tu-hwan clique which is devoted to fascism, war, division, and treachery under the protection of the U.S. imperialist aggressors. [applause]

The past 5 years since the heroic Kwangju popular uprising were days of proud struggles during which the flames of anti-U.S. struggle for independence and antifascist struggle for democratization burned fiercely in South Korea. The South Korean people, youths, and students who have opened their eyes more widely through the bloody lesson of the Kwangju popular uprising and tribulation-ridden history of sufferings are now keeping the flames of the anti-U.S. struggle for independence burning, with clear knowledge of the target of their struggle.

The patriotic youths, students, and people who have raised the beacon of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation over the dark land of the South with the struggle of arson at the American Cultural Center in Pusan bravely staged active anti-U.S. struggles in Seoul, Chunchon, Kwangju, and Taegu, shouting such anti-U.S. slogans as "Yankee, go home" and "We denounce U.S. neocolonialism."

The anti-U.S. struggle for independence is now expanding into a mass struggle with the people from all walks of life, including the workers, peasants, youths, students, religious personages, intellectuals, and democratic personages, in line. It is also developing into a more positive struggle aimed at putting an end to the U.S. imperialists' policy of occupation and colonial rule.

The South Korean people, youths, and students are now linking the anti-U.S. struggle for independence to the antifascist struggle for democratization. This year alone, the South Korean youths, students, and people of all walks of life have kept the flames of the anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle burning fiercely, taking advantage of elections to the puppet National Assembly, the 25th anniversary of the 19 April popular uprising, the puppet traitor's junket to the United States, and the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising.

They are now staging various forms of struggle -- demonstrations, sit-ins, rallies, and dissemination of leaflets -- in various places in South Korea, such as Seoul, Pusan, Kwanju, and Inchon, shouting such slogans as "Let us regain national independence through struggle," "Overthrow the subordinate economy," "We are opposed to the subordinate regime," and "Overthrow the dictatorial regime,"

While actively staging bold struggle of attacking the U.S. Embassy and American Cultural Centers and raiding, in succession, the puppet police stations and police boxes and the DJP headquarters, the South Korean people of all walks of life, including workers, peasants, youths, and students, are fighting methodically by forming such organizations of struggle as the Committee for the Defense of the Nation Against Outside Forces, the Federation of the Youths' Movement for Democratization, the National Federation of Students, and the Consultative Council for the Welfare of Workers, and are developing their struggle onto a higher stage by combining the struggle of the youths and students with the struggles of the workers and peasants and mixing the solidarity struggle of the people of all walks of life with their joint struggles.

In particular, the South Korean youths and students, after announcing the declaration of May struggle for democratic politics and national liberation following the second meeting of the National Federation of Students, are now driving the U.S. imperialists and their stooges into greater terror by staging vigorous struggles against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the behind-the-scenes controllers of the Kwangju massacre, and their perpetrator, the fascist Chon Tu-hwan clique, through the organizing of the committee for investigation into the Kwangju massacre and a special committee for investigation into the true picture of the Kwangju incident.

Availing myself of the occasion of this rally marking the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising, I am extending warm compatriotic support and encouragement to the South Korean people, youths, and students who are persistently struggling for the cause of converting the South Korean society into one governed by independence, democratization, and national reunification despite the harsh suppression of the U.S. imperialists and the fascist military clique. [applause and shouts of slogans]

Comrades, the aspirations of those who participated in the Kwangju popular uprising 5 years ago, who cried on the streets of resistance struggle for new politics and new life, and of the South Korean people should be realized at an early date. For the South Korean people to extricate themselves from today's misery and sufferings, they should put an end to the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule, convert society into one governed by independence and democracy, and realize any independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: An important question in achieving our country's reunification, under the condition in which South Korea is under the colonial, military, and fascist rule of the U.S. imperialists, is making South Korean society independent and democratized.

Making South Korean society independent is a basic demand to establish national sovereignty country-wide. Unless the anti-U.S. banner of independence is upheld, the South Korean people cannot extricate themselves from the status of countryless slaves, and neither the democratization of society nor the peaceful reunification of the country can be achieved.

Those who genuinely treasure the dignity of the country and the nation and desire national reunification should unanimously turn out to the struggle to eradicate the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule and restore national dignity and sovereignty, upholding the anti-U.S. banner of independence.

The U.S. imperialists' colonial rule over South Korea is exercised through military and fascist dictatorship. Therefore, struggling against fascist dictatorship and for the democratization of society is an important guarantee for achieving the independence of South Korean society.

The South Korea people, youths, and students should continuously and valiantly struggle to abolish all evil laws and suppressive organs; to obtain freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, and freedom of association and freedom of demonstration; to release the illegally arrested and imprisoned patriots, democratic figures, youths, and students; and to replace the incumbent fascist and dictatorial regime with a democratic regime.

What the resisting fighters of Kwangju eagerly aspire for is the country's reunification along with democracy. A road on which the fellow countrymen peacefully live without fighting each other should, above all, be opened to accomplish the cause of national reunification. If the strained situation between the North and South is aggravated and the danger of war increases, the road to the country's peaceful reunification cannot be opened.

Tripartite talks among us, the United States, and South Korea, which we have already proposed, should be held at an early date in order to ease the strained situation prevailing in the country, basically remove the danger of war, and provide a precondition for independent and peaceful reunification. The United States and the South Korean authorities should deeply think and contemplate and affirmatively respond to our just and aboveboard proposal for tripartite talks at an early date.

We will constantly and patiently make efforts to realize the proposal for tripartite talks, which is enjoying active support and welcome from the world's peace-loving people as well as all Korean people because of its just and reasonable nature. Along with this, we strongly assert that the proposal, which our SPA set forth early in April, to hold North-South parliamentary talks and to announce a joint declaration of nonaggression be realized at an early date. [applause]

Our new proposal to hold North-South parliamentary talks is the most reasonable and fair peace initiative to remove the danger of tension, which is increasing each day in our country, improve North-South relations, and lay a basis for peaceful reunification. When North-South parliamentary talks and the question concerning nonaggression is resolved, the possibility of an armed clash between the North and the South will be prevented; tension will be eased; and distrust and misunderstanding, which have long been accumulated between fellow countrymen, will be dispelled, an atmosphere for rapprochement and unity will be created, and, thus, a great advance will be effected in opening a new phase for the country's peaceful reunification.

Paying attention to the fact that, despite that 40 days have passed, the South Korean National Assembly has not sent an answer to our new patriotic peace proposal to ease the strained situation prevailing in the country and guarantee peace, we urge it once again to send an affirmative answer. [shouting of slogan]

At the same time, we hope that the South Korean side will show an affirmative response to and have a correct understanding of our proposal for instituting a Joint Committee for North-South Economic Cooperation with vice premiers of the two sides as chairmen, which was advanced by us at the second round of North-South economic talks.

Our side's proposal for instituting a Joint Committee for North-South Economic Cooperation is a reasonable one for actively and effectively realizing, on the broadest scale, the issue of economic collaboration and exchange between the North and the South at an early date, and a just one for improving North-South relations and promoting the cause of reunification. [applause]

In order to open a new phase for peace and peaceful reunification by putting an end to confrontation and antagonism and by creating an atmosphere of rapprochement and trust, it is imperative for all the Korean people to stage a pan-national struggle in firm unity. All the Korean people in the North and the South and compatriots overseas should achieve grand national unity based on the spirit of the 4 July North-South statement and should actively struggle to achieve the national aspiration for national reunification on the foundation of the united strength of the entire people.

Today, the people in the northern half of the republic face a heavy and honorable task of accelerating the cause of further imbuing society with the *chuche* idea and achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of the country at an early date.

All the working people should struggle to consummate the revolutionary *chuche* to the end by arming themselves with our party's revolutionary ideas, the immortal *chuche* idea, and by rallying behind the great leader and the glorious party center.

At the same time, all the people should continually create innovations and make continuous advancement on all fronts of socialist construction in order to push with the three revolutions -- ideological, technological, and cultural -- fulfill the targets of this year's national economic plan ahead of schedule, and fulfil the 10 major prospective targets of the 1980's. In this way, they should make positive efforts to make the 40th anniversaries of national liberation and the founding of the party glow as the victor's great festival and to decorate this year as the most glorious and proud one in the history of our fatherland. Only victory and glory will always await our people on the road along which they are advancing, upholding the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and following the wise leadership of the glorious party center. [applause]

Let us all advance forward more vigorously toward an independent and peaceful reunification of the country and toward the final consummation of the revolutionary chuche cause by firmly rallying around the great leader and the glorious party center. [applause and shouting of slogans]

Article Demands Probe

SK130347 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0337 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Pyongyang May 13 (KCNA) -- South Korean students and people are waging a furious anti-U.S., anti-fascist struggle, demanding a probe into the truth of the massacre committed by the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan military fascist clique in Kwangju with the approach of the 5th anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising. In this connection a signed article of NODONG SINMUN May 12 headlined "Truth of Kwangju Massacre Cannot Be Concealed" says:

Their struggle growing fiercer day by day is an eruption of the pent-up grievances and resentment at the U.S. imperialists and their stooges who brutally killed patriotic people in the Kwangju popular uprising and savagely crushed budding democracy. It is a righteous struggle to bring to realization the desire left unrealized by the Kwangju resistance fighters who fell on the streets while shouting for independence, democracy and reunification.

The Kwangju bloodbath staged by the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan military fascist clique five years ago was unprecedented in history in brutality and atrocity.

In face of the growing voice demanding a probe into the truth of the Kwangju massacre, the fascist clique in their attempt to conceal their nation-butchery claim that the Kwangju incident was one "before the establishment of power" and an "inevitable thing" and even insult the Kwangju popular uprising as a "riot of mobs".

The Chon Tu-hwan group can no longer conceal the truth of the Kwangju massacre. The puppet must apologize for his butchery to the nation and step down from power without delay.

RPR Letter on Kwangju

SK190908 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0846 GMT 19 May 85

[Text] Pyongyang May 19 (KCNA) -- The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification published an open letter to the South Korean people on May 14 on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising, according to radio "voice of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification".

Condemning the brutalities of the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean military fascist clique in suppressing the Kwangju popular uprising through a bloodbath, the letter says that if the South Korean people want to enjoy happiness in their homeland, there is no other way but to wage an anti-U.S. resistance for freedom and liberation. The most urgent and important fighting task for our popular masses at present, it further says, is to terminate the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule and make the South Korean society independent.

Let the entire people powerfully advance along the road of independence and sovereignty under the banner of anti-U.S. national-salvation.

Let us drive away the Yankee aggressors, the backstage mastermind of the Kwangju massacre and settle scores to console spirits of the Kwangju victims.

Let us intensify the anti-war, anti-nuclear movement to put a stop to the aggression war racket of the Yankees and expel the nuclear weapons.

Let us destroy the hateful U.S. imperialists' colonial fascist rule and establish an independent democratic power.

Let us wage a stubborn struggle to overthrow the Chon Tu-hwan military dictatorship manipulated by the Yankee aggressors.

NODONG SINMUN Marks Uprising

SK180524 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2140 GMT 17 May 85

[NODONG SINMUN 18 May editorial: "Fifth Anniversary of Heroic Kwangju Popular Uprising"]

[Text] Today, we are marking the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising, which recorded a proud chapter in the history of the South Korean people's antifascist resistance for democracy.

The Kwangju popular uprising was a mass nation-saving resistance by the South Korean people who rose up in resistance against the oppressors' barbarous rule. The uprising originated from the outrageous fascist offensives, which the Chon Tu-hwan ring -- the Yusin remnant -- launched against the patriotic forces demanding the democratization of society, by enforcing an emergency martial law throughout South Korea on 17 May 1980 under the manipulation of the U.S. imperialists.

The fascist hangmen's atrocious attacks on the patriotic forces aroused great indignation among the South Korean people, and, at last, helped spur the youths, students, and citizens in Kwangju to a mass resistance. The uprisers armed themselves and raided the puppet police stations and armories, shouting such slogans as: "Lift emergency martial law," "Abolish the Yusin system," "Chon Tu-hwan, resign," and "Release the detainees." They courageously fought the martial law troops who were running wild frantically.

The resistance, which was participated in by several hundred thousand, lasted 10 days during which the resistance occupied the puppet government organization, including the provincial government building. The flames of the resistance spread to 17 cities and counties in the province and even to another province.

The Kwangju citizens' resistance was a mass uprising participated in by the masses of various strata, including the youths, students, workers, peasants, intellectuals, and religious people. It was a high-level nation-saving struggle of resisting the armed enemies with arms.

The Kwangju popular uprising -- a mass riot which was unprecedented in size and ferocity in the modern history of Eastern people's struggle for liberation -- was a source of great national pride for our people and encouraged the struggle of the world's oppressed peoples for national sovereignty and independence.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: The heroic uprising of the Kwangju people, in which numerous people courageously fought with one accord grasping arms in hands, severely rocked the foundation of the South Korean fascist rule and made the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, the military fascist elements, shudder with anxiety and fear.

The Kwangju popular uprising completely rocked the foundation for rule of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges who have been making desperate efforts to maintain the colonial fascist dictatorship running counter to the popular masses' aspirations for independence, democracy, and reunification.

The Chon Tu-hwan ring fully revealed its ugly nature as a heinous human butcher in Kwangju. The fascist hangmen committed an unprecedentedly ruthless and miscreant atrocity of massacre against compatriots, massacring several thousand people and injuring 10,000-odd people by mobilizing approximately 70,000 puppet army troops, including the notorious special air-borne warfare troops, aircraft, tanks, guns, and even missiles.

The 5,000-year-long national history and the world history do not know of another cut-throat who so mercilessly massacred compatriots like this. People will never forget the fascist clique's barbarous atrocity of massacre.

The Chon Tu-hwan ring's grand operation of massacre, of soaking the streets in a sea of blood and stacking corpses on them, was carried out under the direct manipulation of the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists handed over the right of command to the puppet clique so that the clique could throw the puppet army divisions under their command into suppression. They instigated the clique to an indiscriminate massacre.

The Kwangju uprising has served as a new historic milestone in the South Korean people's struggle. Through the atrocity of massacre in Kwangju, the South Korean people came to know that the U.S. imperialists and their friends are not aid-givers, but aggressors, murderers, and masters controlling the puppets. The people turned out in the anti-U.S. struggle with surging indignation against the U.S. imperialists as well as in the anti-fascist democratization struggle.

In Kwangju, Pusan, Taegu, and Chunchon, they have struggled demanding the withdrawal of the aggressors from South Korea, while burning U.S. cultural centers and the Stars and Stripes. The anti-U.S., pro-independence struggle as well as the antifascist democratization struggle has been vigorously staged. This means the struggle by the South Korean youths, students, and people is developing to a new higher stage.

The anti-U.S. and antipuppet struggle, which has been stepped up with the Kwangju popular uprising as momentum, has dealt a severe blow to the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule and has been accelerating the political crisis of the Chon Tu-hwan ring, and its isolation at home and abroad.

The Chon Tu-hwan ring, which is suffering from a crisis because of the people's resistance, is today accelerating fascistization of the social and political life with a view to finding a way out through the intensification of suppression.

The ring has clamored about political development and elimination of violence. But nothing has changed in South Korea during the past 5 years. Rather, the dictatorship and violence have been further intensified.

In a period of 1 year from the time it took power, the fascist clique has arrested and imprisoned approximately 89,000 patriots and innocent people. After that, the clique further stepped up fascist suppression against people, while playing the deceitful game of releasing those involved. The rascals have even built, in South Korea, a detention facility that can hold 380,000 people.

South Korea, where the freedoms of press, publication, assembly, association, and demonstration are being violated and obliterated, and mass arrests and imprisonments are being carried out, is being turned into a prison without bars.

They are suppressing, with guns and bayonets, the anti-U.S., pro-independence mass movement against fascism and for democratization by the youths, students, and people, while stressing national harmony, social stability, and security under the pretext of the 1988 Olympic Games, which will not be held during their term of office. They are accelerating the preparations for a war of northward invasion while spreading the nonexistent theory of southward invasion. All of these are schemes for tightening their grip on power and seeking long-term power in office.

Recently, the South Korean dictator and his minions begged their U.S. master, during their visit, for the perpetual occupation of South Korea by the U.S. forces, the offer of more military aid, nuclear protection, and the deployment of chemical weapons, while singing again the ballad about security.

Exactly 5 years ago, the Chon Tu-hwan ring massacred several thousand peaceful people in the local city of Kwangju for the purpose of usurping power. Today, it is trying to make the nation a victim of the ravages of a nuclear war and the sacrifice of a chemical war, while demanding more nuclear and chemical weapons.

The South Korean puppets are more undisguisedly making war rackets against us with each passing day, while instigating the feeling of confrontation and antagonism within the nation by kicking up vicious anticommunist, anti-Republic rackets.

They staged, beginning in early February, the "Team Spirit-85" joint military exercise in South Korea by mobilizing a large number of military personnel, numbering approximately 200,000, and modern war means, including nuclear weapons, thereby stopping the Red Cross talks and the economic talks. They have more frantically kicked up war rackets since we put forth a proposal for holding North-South parliamentary talks as a way to seek national harmony and trust between the North and the South and reduce tension in the country. This is shown by the provocative "Myolgong-85," "Bat-85," and "Ttanggol-85" war game rackets which have been repeatedly kicked up throughout South Korea since we put forth the proposal for parliamentary talks.

The South Korean puppets have organized or reinforced special units, armored units, and tank units for invading us and are moving the puppet armed forces forward to areas near the Military Demarcation Line so that they could switch those forces to offensive operations at any time.

At a time when the people at home and abroad unanimously wish to see tension reduced in Korea, peace maintained, and North-South relations improved, they are kicking up war rackets against us, while openly stressing the need to annihilate communism. We can only say that this is an open challenge to the other party to the dialogue. This shows that their clamors about improvement of North-South relations through dialogue, reduction of tension, and maintenance of peace are false and that, quite to the contrary, they are only interested in maintaining division and realizing long-term power in office, while seeking a confrontational line with us.

Because of the Chon Tu-hwan ring's fascist terrorist rule and war rackets, national sovereignty is continuously trampled underfoot in South Korea, human rights are violated, and the tense situation is aggravated.

The United States is the ringleader who is aggravating the situation, turning South Korea into a dark land where fascism is rampant. The U.S. imperialists were the organizers of the coup for military purge and the outrage that took place on 17 May [1980] in which, after the October incident which brought about the end of the previous dictator, they put forth and backed the Chon Tu-hwan ring -- the heinous fascist group within the puppet military circles in its grasp for power. They were the manipulators of the Kwangju massacre. Also, they are the ringleaders who are enforcing the most barbarous colonial rule in South Korea by inciting the fascist hangmen. The United States is the one behind the scenes which is blocking reunification and instigating division, while inciting North-South confrontation by kicking up anticommunist rackets.

Since the Kwangju popular uprising, the U.S. imperialists have been accelerating war preparations, while stepping up military exercises step by step by reinforcing armed forces in South Korea and introducing weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons.

Recently, too, the U.S. imperialists incited the war fever of the puppets, while inviting the South Korean puppets to the United States and clamoring about a nuclear umbrella, offering up-to-date military technology, joint development of guided missiles, and deployment of up-to-date chemical weapons in South Korea.

Because of the U.S. imperialists' schemes to provoke a new war, tension is being aggravated on the Korean peninsula and the danger of a nuclear war is increasing. The U.S. imperialists' occupation of South Korea and their policy of aggression are the basic factors that violate sovereignty and human rights of the South Korean people, threaten the peace of Korea, and block the country's reunification.

Independence, democracy, peace, and reunification are vital demands of the South Korean people. At the moment, mass struggles calling for independence and democracy and demanding an examination into truth about the Kwangju incident are being staged every day in South Korea. They have issued a declaration of the struggle for the month of May for democratic politics and national liberation. This is a display of the people's indomitable aspiration never to tolerate the ringleader of the Kwangju massacre and its stooges and to struggle to the end against the U.S. imperialists' aggression and their stooges' fascist rule.

The South Korean fascist clique should abolish all suppressive organizations, guarantee democratization of the society, and release the youths, students, and people who have been illegally arrested and imprisoned.

Dictator Chon Tu-hwan should step down from power as demanded by the South Korean people.

The withdrawal of the U.S. forces is a prerequisite to the independence and democracy of South Korea and the peace and peaceful reunification of the country. The United States should withdraw U.S. forces from South Korea and remove its hands of interference in the internal affairs of Korea. In order to reduce tension in Korea, it is necessary, as we have proposed, to hold North-South parliamentary talks and issue a joint declaration of nonaggression. If the South side genuinely wishes the reduction of tension and improvement of North-South relations, it should stop antagonistic acts and war rackets against us and should affirmatively respond to our peace proposal. Our people's national will is to reduce tension in Korea, maintain peace, and realize peaceful reunification. No one can block our people's advance movement for peace and peaceful reunification. We will surely achieve our historic cause with the concerted patriotic forces of the North and the South.

CPRF Condemns Suppression

SK220212 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2200 GMT 16 May 85

[Text] The Secretariat of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, denouncing the commotions of the fascist suppression which the Chon Tu-hwan fascist military clique has staged against the South Korean youths, students, and patriotic people on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising, issued the following information:

Information No 308 of the Secretariat of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland:

In these days, the fascist suppression of youths and students is being further intensified in South Korea. According to reports, on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising, the Chon Tu-hwan fascist military clique has again staged the commotions of the fascist suppression since 10 May. It committed an atrocity of suppression by arresting and detaining 160 youths and students and by detaining and putting in custody some 40 democratic personages. At the same time, by mobilizing an enormous number of suppressive police forces, the puppets are committing a fascist outrage by checking the passengers of trains bound for Kwangju. This is an undisguised challenge to the just struggle of the South Korean youths, students, and people who demand the unveiling of the truth of the Kwangju incident, and is a desperate attempt to prevent the anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle which is expanding on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Kwangju popular uprising.

The South Korean youths and students are unyieldingly continuing the anti-U.S. and anti-dictatorial struggle after releasing a declaration of the May struggle for the democratic government and the national liberation. At each university, they have formed committees to unveil the truth of the Kwangju massacre and special committees to probe into the truth of the Kwangju incident, and held rallies to denounce the Kwangju incident. They are strongly demanding the unveiling of the truth of the Kwangju incident, and are unyieldingly waging the struggle against the current dictatorial system, while branding traitor Chon Tu-hwan as the ringleader of the Kwangju massacre. Dismayed at this, the Chon Tu-hwan fascist military clique is becoming even more feverish in suppressing youths and students in fear of the unveiling of their crimes of relentlessly killing thousands of compatriots in Kwangju and submerging the entire city in a sea of blood 5 years ago. However, no fascist suppression can thwart the patriotic advance of the youths, students, and people. At present, the South Korean youths and students are preparing to wage even stronger mass struggle, as the fascist clique intensifies suppression. The fascist clique's commotions of suppression will only result in accelerating its own end.

[Dated] 16 May 1985, Pyongyang.

SOURCES FORESEE IMPROVED U.S.-DPRK RELATIONS

SK211206 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 21 May 85 p 1

[Text] The government is formulating measures from various angles to cope with the situation whereby Communist China is likely to actively urge the United States and Japan to improve relations with North Korea, in the wake of the recent talks between North Korea's Kim Il-song and Communist China's Hu Yaobang in Sinuiju.

According to remarks made by diplomatic sources on 21 May, it is highly likely that Communist China promised North Korea that it will actively arrange North Korean contact with the United States, in addition to military aid, in the 4-6 May Sinuiju talks, to prevent North Korea from leaning toward the Soviet Union.

The sources analyzed that it is highly predictable that Communist China, worried that the Soviet Union's new leadership, headed by Gorbachev, may boost its relations with North Korea to the plane of its world strategy of checking the United States, from the previous strategic and geopolitical value attached to North Korea, might have assured North Korea of its arrangement for improving North Korea's relations with the United States to offset the Soviet approach.

Among the new recent moves noted in terms of closer military relations between the Soviet Union and North Korea are: Soviet fighters have been flying across North Korean airspace since the end of last year; 10 MIG-23's visited North Korea; the possibility of the Soviet Union's exporting MIG-23's to North Korea has increased; and Soviet submarines are appearing at North Korea bases. According to an analysis by experts, it is highly likely that Communist China, as part of its measure to cope with such a situation, assured North Korea of its arrangement for the latter's improving relations with the United States, which is one of the key strategic objectives of North Korea's foreign policy.

The sources observed that North Korea did not rupture the second round of North-South economic talks itself, although it avoided discussions in practical terms because had its improved relations with the United States in mind. They also observed that Communist China is likely to urge the United States to improve relations with North Korea to the level of ROK-Communist China relations, since the United States proposed the principle of reciprocity, on the grounds that North Korea's tendency toward the Soviet Union will be accelerated unless the United States improves its relations with North Korea.

The sources precluded the possibility of U.S. contact with North Korea bypassing the ROK, in view of the prevailing atmosphere of close ROK-U.S. unity and the close relations among the ROK, the United States, and Japan, but stressed that the ROK ought to assume a flexible attitude in the long run, looking at the scope and quality of the principle of reciprocity, and that it should formulate multi-phased measures to positively cope with the diplomatic environment that will newly develop around the Korean peninsula.

CHON CALLS FOR RAPID MILITARY RESPONSE IN EMERGENCY

SK220235 Seoul YONHAP in English 0227 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Pohang, Korea, May 22 (YONHAP) -- South Korean President Chon Tu-hwan said Tuesday that the Armed Forces should be prepared for a lightning action against the enemy if confronted with an emergency situation.

The chief executive made the remark while inspecting a Marine Corps unit in this southeastern port city of Pohang, some 308 kilometers south of Seoul, on Tuesday afternoon. Chon said that if war breaks out, the defense of the rear area is no less important than that of the frontline area. Calling for a continued spiritual education of soldiers, he stressed that watertight measures should be taken to meet any possible surprise attack of the enemy, particularly on the sea and air.

During his inspection tour of the unit, Chon was briefed on North Korea's recent military movements.

MINISTRY URGES JAPAN TO REVISE FINGERPRINTING LAW

SK220104 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 22 May 85 p 1

[Text] The Foreign Ministry yesterday called for sincere efforts of the Japanese government to revise the compulsory fingerprinting system for Koreans and other foreigners residing in Japan.

Foreign Minister Yi Won-kyong summoned Japanese Ambassador to Korea Kiyoshisa Mikanagi to his office yesterday afternoon and expressed to him the government's wish that the controversial issue should be settled as soon as possible with Tokyo's cooperation.

Amb. Mikanagi heard similar statements from Vice Foreign Minister Yi Sang-ok Monday when he visited the latter to explain his government's position concerning the partial revision on May 14 of regulations on the Alien Fingerprinting Law.

Minister Yi was quoted as saying to the Japanese envoy that the revision last week was far from solving the problems arising from the system, as it only dealt with operational matters. It is hoped that "the Japanese government will make sincere efforts to settle the issue by revising the system itself," the minister was quoted as saying.

GOVERNMENT TO EXPAND ECONOMIC TIES WITH SRI LANKA

SK210451 Seoul YONHAP in English 0433 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Seoul, May 21 (YONHAP) -- South Korean and Sri Lankan trade ministers Monday agreed to expand trade, joint ventures and economic cooperation between their two countries.

In a meeting here, Korean Trade and Industry Minister Kum Chin-ho asked Sri Lanka to extend its 10-year tax exemption benefit for Korean firms advancing into the South Asian country. Kum said he hopes that as many Korean companies as possible will participate in the Sri Lankan economic development projects.

Sri Lanka's trade and shipping minister, M.S. Amarasiri, asked Korea to increase its imports of natural rubber and naphtha in order to reduce Sri Lanka's deficit in its trade with Korea. Amarasiri expressed his appreciation to Korea for cooperating with his country in the area of industrial technology.

The Sri Lankan minister arrived here Sunday for a week-long visit at the invitation of Kum.

In 1984, Korea exported 46 million U.S. dollars worth of goods to Sri Lanka and imported 13 million dollars worth of commodities from Sri Lanka.

CAMBODIAN BORDER SITUATION 'STILL TENSE'

BK220018 Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 22 May 85 p 3

[Text] Trat -- The situation on the Thai-Kampuchean border here is still tense, with about 3,000 Vietnamese troops massing along the border, although Thai troops drove out about 1,000 Vietnamese troops from Muang District late last week, field military sources said yesterday.

The sources said that about 2,000 Vietnamese troops and 25 tanks were deployed opposite the area which was the scene of fierce fighting between Thai troops and about 600 Vietnamese troops last Saturday. The Vietnamese troops pulled out of the stronghold, known as the third target area for Thai troops, to another nearby position where about 400 Vietnamese troops were deployed.

Thai troops attacked the Vietnamese at the third target zone after Thai artillery gunners bombarded the area. The artillery hit a large arsenal in the area, triggering off a series of deafening explosions during the offensive, which climaxed an operation launched on May 4 to flush out the intruders from areas of Tambon Ban Chamrak of Muang District here.

Three battalions of marine troops, a division of rangers and two companies of Border Patrol Police were employed in the operation. Thai troops earlier recaptured another border area known as the first target zone, with air and artillery support.

Thai military sources said that Khmer Rouge guerrillas were harassing Vietnamese troops on the other side of the border and were attempting to destroy an earthen bridge constructed across a river as a logistic route to the Banthat mountain range. However, the Vietnamese have managed to protect the bridge.

Trat Governor Cited

BK210258 Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 0000 GMT 21 May 85

[Interview with Governor of Trat Province Thongdam Bancmun by the Radio Thailand correspondent in Trat Province on 20 May -- recorded]

[Text] [Thongdam Bancmun] I would like to report on the situation in Trat Province following incursions by foreigners into the border area in Tambon Chamrak, Muang District, and Trat, and the operations carried out by the Chanthaburi-Trat force to repel the foreign intruders. The situation now has returned to normal. Foreign forces have pulled out. The Chanthaburi-Trat border force has taken full control of the area. I can say so to you because we have received word from the Chanthaburi-Trat command that district and provincial authorities were already able to move back to village groups four and five of Ban Song Yang and Tambon Chamrak the people who were evacuated to temporary shelter at Wat Non Sungm. These people were moved back to their villages yesterday, 19 May. I can therefore assure the people of Trat Province that the situation is now back to normal. The Chanthaburi-Trat force has successfully forced the foreign intruder from the country. We thank the private sector for their support for the Chanthaburi-Trat force in their military operation in providing them with various kinds of gifts.

[Correspondent] What kind of assistance does the province plan to give the border people for relief and rehabilitation following the evacuation?

[Thongdam] I would like to stress that the morale of the affected border people is high. Therefore, there is no need for a moral rehabilitation program. Before moving them back to their homes, I provided the villagers with gifts donated by the private sector, particularly foodstuff, and this will help them to cope with the few days back at their villages. I believe this measure can alleviate the problems they might face.

SAP LEADER SAYS TIME 'RIPE' FOR CABINET RESHUFFLE

BK190428 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 19 May 85 p 1

[By Banuat Thasaniyawet]

[Text] Social Action Party [SAP] leader M.R. Khukrit Pramot yesterday spoke for the first time about a widely expected Cabinet reshuffle, saying the time was now ripe for changes. M.R. Khukrit emphasised in an interview with the BANGKOK POST, however, that he supported the Cabinet and did not want to pressure Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon into reshuffling his ministers. The former prime minister said changes would make ministers more alert, improve the image of politicians with the public and increase the Government's stability.

"The matter is under the Prime Minister's jurisdiction and I will not propose a reshuffle because it would be against political etiquette," he said. "A reshuffle would give new hope to the people and stop them from feeling bored with politics," M.R. Khukrit said. "The best time to make the changes would be after the opposition's censure motion is debated in Parliament."

The debate will provide the Prime Minister with an opportunity to see how others view the performance of Cabinet ministers. This would more or less reflect the public's opinion, M.R. Khukrit said. The Prime Minister could then reshuffle his cabinet accordingly, he said.

The SAP leader warned, however, that ministers mentioned in the censure motion might feel upset by the debate and might then decide to resign.

Gen Prem could make changes by either informing the coalition partners of his plan and then asking each party to submit a list of possible replacements, or by hand-picking new people to replace those who need to be changed, M.R. Khukrit said. He said a reshuffle could cause rifts within the coalition partners as it might hurt party members whose names were not put forward, but he added that any rifts could be healed through negotiations among those concerned.

Certain coalition factions, including those within the SAP, have said they favour a reshuffle. In particular SAP dissidents have voiced dissatisfaction with their own economic ministers' performances and reportedly demanded that they be replaced at a recent party meeting.

Reiterating that he was speaking personally, M.R. Khukrit said he could not say which ministers needed to be replaced or who should replace them. But he said a reshuffle would "improve the Government's stability and make everything better."

Reiterating SAP support for the Government under the leadership of Gen Prem, M.R. Khukrit said the premier had a special quality in being able to prevent coup d'etats. No one else could do this if they were prime minister, he said.

He ruled out the possibility of the military attempting to seize power because there were no conditions yet which could lead to such a move.

Without a coup, the country's democracy could develop without interruption, he said. When the Government's term ends in 1987, the country should have made progress in its democratic development, he added.

Prem Open To Reshuffle Idea

BK200925 Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 20 May 85 p 1

[Text] Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon this morning indicated that he was open to the idea of a Cabinet reshuffle but was yet to consider the timing and changes. "I regard a Cabinet reshuffle as normal practice (in a parliamentary system). I don't think there would be any problem. It (a reshuffle) is not a special matter," Gen Prem told reporters. However, the Prime Minister said he was not certain about the timing or the ministers to be changed as he was yet to consult his coalition partners.

The Prime Minister made the comments in response to a reshuffle suggestion from Social Action Party [SAP] leader M.R. Khukrit Pramot. In an interview over the week-end, Mr. Khukrit said the time was ripe for changes in the Cabinet and they ideally should take place after the censure vote in Parliament on May 29.

Gen Prem stressed that he would consult his coalition partners before taking any action. When asked if he would hand-pick new Cabinet members himself or make a selection from a list submitted by the four government parties, he said "we are in the same Government, I prefer to consult with them first." Citing the same reason, he refused to confirm or deny that the reshuffle would involve economic ministers.

M.R. Khukrit gave no specific reason for his reshuffle suggestion but said it would give new hope to the people and improve government stability. A reshuffle may cause rifts among coalition partners but this could be healed through negotiations among those concerned, he added.

SAP, with 102 MP's, is the largest party in the coalition Government. It holds 15 Cabinet seats and is considered to have had the "biggest say" in the Government over the past two years. Dissidents within the party have voiced dissatisfaction with their own economic ministers' performances and reportedly demanded that they be replaced.

Other Government parties, except the National Democracy Party whose leaders were unavailable for comment, this morning voiced mixed feelings towards SAP's suggestion.

Deputy Prime Minister Phichai Rattakun, leader of the Democrat Party which holds nine seats in the Cabinet, said he saw no need for a reshuffle. "I don't know what M.R. Khukrit's good reason is for a Cabinet reshuffle," Mr Phichai said, "but for me I see a reshuffle is unnecessary."

He dismissed suggestions that a reshuffle might be caused by parliamentary "pressure" saying that the Chat Thai Party's no-confidence motion was normal in any democratic system. Mr Phichai maintained that all Cabinet ministers had done their best over the past two years. "Some of the ministers might have won full marks for their work while others may not. If there was a problem (in the Government), Gen Prem might have reshuffled the Cabinet already," he said. Nevertheless, he said it was up to the Prime Minister to decide and the Democrats would not cause any problems if he were to reshuffle the Cabinet.

Prachakon Thai Deputy Leader Adm Sonthi Bunyachai, another Deputy Prime Minister, also said a reshuffle decision was up to the Prime Minister. However, Adm Sonthai, whose party holds six Cabinet seats, said the country's present economic problems should not be considered the fault of any individual minister or government policy in general. "I consider it a matter of timing. There is good policy but it may be a little slow to reach the target in solving the (economic) problems," Adm Sonthi said. At the same time, he agreed with the SAP leader that a reshuffle would relax tension, and improve the Government's image and stability.

Reshuffle Appears Likely

BK210926 Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 21 May 85 p 1

[Text] A Cabinet reshuffle appeared a strong possibility this morning as three out of four coalition partners have given the green light to Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon to take the lead.

The latest nod came from the National Democracy Party [NDP] whose Deputy Leader, Industry Minister Op Wasurat, said it was up to the Prime Minister to reshuffle the Cabinet and the NDP had no objections to it. The NDP's vote of support leaves the Democratic Party as the sole coalition partner to be against a Cabinet reshuffle, a move proposed over the week-end by Gen Prem's dominant coalition partner, the Social Action Party [SAP].

Another coalition partner, the Prachakon Thai Party expressed support for such a move yesterday when its Deputy Party Adm [title as published] Sonthai Bunyachai said a Cabinet reshuffle would relax tensions and improve the Government's image and stability.

Democrat Party Leader Phichai Rattakun, a Deputy Prime Minister, yesterday said he saw no need for any Cabinet changes although his party would not create trouble if the Prime Minister were to decide to do so.

Gen Prem's Cabinet features 15 SAP ministers and deputies against nine Democrats, with six from the Prachakon Thai and three from the NDP.

SAP leader M.R. Khukrit Pramot suggested over the week-end that the Cabinet be reshuffled after the Chat Thai Party's censure vote against the Government on May 29.

Finance Minister Sommai Huntrakun (non-partisan) yesterday categorically denied suggestions that the reshuffle issue had been prompted by his conveying to the Prime Minister his intention to resign.

Gen Prem yesterday said he was open to the idea of a Cabinet reshuffle though he has yet to decide on the timing and changes.

Dr Wiraphong Ramangkun, an adviser to the Prime Minister, this morning confirmed there was a meeting of advisers yesterday but refused to disclose further details. An earlier report said the advisers suggested that the reshuffle take place after the no-confidence debate and that the same four parties should remain in the coalition.

SAP MP Prasop Butsarakhom of Udon Thani said he believed the reshuffle would come after the censure motion and involve economic ministers.

Non-Government MP Khlaew Norapati, Leader of the Socialist Democratic Party, this morning urged an immediate reshuffle. The Khon Kaen MP said changes at the top should be made in the Ministries of Finance, Commerce, Agriculture, Communications and Interior as the performances of present ministers had proved counterproductive.

Two SAP ministers voiced strong support for their leader's reshuffle suggestion. Agriculture Minister Narong Wongwan said his job had been tiring and the suggestion was correct.

ATHIT DISCUSSES CAMBODIA, ECONOMY, RESHUFFLE

BK191341 Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 9 May 85 pp 16-18

["Excerpt" of interview with Thai General Athit Kamlang-ek, supreme commander and Army commander in chief, by three unidentified representatives of the Press Association of Thailand on 23 April, to be televised on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the Press Association of Thailand]

[Text] [Interviewer] I would like to ask Your Excellency the Supreme Commander about the border situation, which is a matter of concern for all of us at the moment.

[Athit] Our Armed Forces have performed their duty noble and courageously, befitting the role of warriors entrusted by the people. We were successful in driving intruders out of our territory. We are now fully prepared to meet with any border incidents or incursions. So far, there has been nothing serious.

[Interviewer] The foreign minister once stated during a talk on national problems that the Cambodian problem should be settled through diplomatic channels. As a military leader, what do you think about that?

[Athit] The foreign minister was right. Cambodia is not Thailand, and our Armed Forces were not operating inside Cambodia. Anyway, when the fighting in Cambodia spilled over into Thailand, we had to deal with the problem. It had then become a problem of Thailand.

I would like to tell you that the Foreign Ministry and the military are in close contact at all times. Whenever there is a border incident or operation carried out by the Army, the Foreign Ministry is directly informed. We have liaison officers posted at the Foreign Ministry and therefore need not follow a lengthy written process in order to inform the ministry.

The Foreign Ministry would proceed with its plan if it felt that the matter should be protested and the violation against Thailand's sovereignty should be made known worldwide. As for the military, we are following the policy of the government. Whatever we do must conform with the foreign policy of the government. Concerning the border areas, the military is doing its best to protect the border.

[Interviewer] An Army general once stated that we will not longer remain on the defensive but will cross into Cambodia in order to repulse the Vietnamese. Would not such a declaration affect our national security?

[Athit] I must explain that there are several types of defensive operations. In our case, we are defending our territory from encroachment. In military terms, we call it offensive defense. It is well known among military men. We must adopt this tactic if our border areas are affected in order to defend our territory. It depends on each particular border incident in order to determine at which point we have to adopt this measure in accordance with the national defense plan.

When the officer in question made the statement, he also meant offensive defense. Being on the defensive and being on the offensive are different. By offensive, we mean crossing into another country. We do not have that policy. Meanwhile, we are on the defensive to protect our country. Only we are opting for an offensive defense. Yet, that does not mean we are on the offensive.

[Interviewer] Does it mean driving them away?

[Athit] It means that sometimes we may have to advance for operations necessary to clear our territory from control by others. This depends on the particular incident; it is not a policy. It depends on how our defense line is affected. We will make an advance wherever we have to. Nevertheless, we must abide by the policy of the government in defending our country.

[Interviewer] Now, on the economy, I would like to ask whether you think the national economy is related to the problem of national security?

[Athit] I am concerned about the economic problem as an ordinary citizen because it affects all of us. I think the economic problem is a sensitive issue and in order to improve the situation we need cooperation from all sectors. The problem must be tackled from all aspects. The economy is much related to the problem of national security. Everything is at a standstill if the economy is not good. Anyway, we must try to cope with it as best we can. My slogan for the units under my responsibility is: We must be able to fight even under the conditions of scarcity. We cannot slacken in our duty. Although we cannot get what we want from material procurement, we still have to make our best efforts in doing our duty. This is how the problem should be resolved under unfavorable economic conditions.

Anyway, it is the duty of ministries and departments concerned with the economy to resolve the problems of the economy. I have also said that we need cooperation from all sectors -- government officials, businessmen, and the general public. We must cooperate in order to find out where the real problem lies and how to resolve it. As for the military, we are in charge of national defense. Yet, we are ready to do whatever the government may ask. We will do whatever we are asked to do until we achieve success. So far, we have not been asked and those who are in charge are still doing the best they can. The military supports their efforts. This is our formulated policy, which I have given as instruction to all my subordinates.

[Interviewer] What do you think about our present economic situation?

[Athit] To be frank, I must say it is still not good, not as it should be. Prices are high and we cannot afford to have what we want with the money we have. Government officials as well as the general public are having a hard time in shouldering the cost of living. Anyway, what can we do but be patient and withstand all those difficulties. We hope that one day those problems will be resolved and we will be happy. We are Thai and we live in this country. We have no choice but to face it and do our best to overcome the problems through short- or long-term solutions. I believe we will manage to survive and perform our duties in this country.

[Interviewer] There have been suggestions in the press that the government should reshuffle its team of economic ministers as it has failed to resolve economic problems. What do you think about the suggestion?

[Athit] If the suggestion is made under the freedom of democratic thinking, then I have no comment. Anyway, the economic ministers have been trying to resolve the problems, but have not achieved what they desired. This is what I have said -- that we need cooperation from all sections in order to tackle the problem at the right point.

Concerning the reshuffle, it is the responsibility of the government, of the prime minister, and we should not interfere in this matter. The opinion of the press is something we should listen to and I believe that the government is also listening to it. In my opinion, we can find the solution to our problem if we cooperate in our efforts by exchanging views and listening to one another's suggestions. Even though we have new economic ministers, they will also have to listen to others in order to conclude which is the right direction to follow. I think the matter is important and this is all I can say.

[Interviewer] The government will submit two decrees to parliament for consideration. The first is about illegal chit fund operation, and the second is the tax restructure. As you are a senator, do you think the two decrees will be approved by the legislature?

[Athit] Passage of the decrees will follow legislative procedure of the National Assembly. I believe they will be passed by the House of Representatives and forwarded to the Senate for consideration. It depends on the views and judgment of each of us. My views alone cannot decide the fate of the decrees. Therefore, I would like to reserve my views to be made in the parliament.

[Interviewer] In accordance with the democratic system, will the government have to resign if its decree on the new tax structure is defeated in the parliament?

[Athit] It has not been defeated yet. The decree itself has not even been put on the parliament agenda. So let us wait and see. Anyway, I believe that all members of this honorable Assembly exercise sound judgment for the country. As they are all aware that national security depends on the stability of the government, they should try to uphold the government's stability. Every one is endowed with good common sense. They must make full use of it. Then, there must be a vote for the decree under the democratic principle. I believe the outcome of the vote would be in favor of national interests and of government stability. Let us wait until the matter is brought before the parliament. The government has its reasons to explain to the Assembly. So let us first listen to the government's explanation. It would be inaccurate for me to make any comment at present.

[Interviewer] Would you like to say something to the people?

[Athit] Concerning the press and national security, I would like to say that I realize that the press is necessary for the people's information. Yet, to present news with accuracy and in the interests of the people also serves the interest of national security. As for myself, I have tried by all means within my responsibility to achieve peace and happiness for the people and the country.

The press has been in close cooperation with the government. We have been making use of the service of the press as our mouthpiece to relay information to the public. We have been working under sound cooperation. Everyone living in this country, no matter whether they are soldiers, people, or journalists, cooperates with each other for the sake of achieving peace and security for our country.

CUBAN SUSPENSION OF AGREEMENT WITH U.S. NOTED

BK211224 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] The Cuban Government on 20 May issued a statement in protest against the Reagan administration's decision to begin beaming broadcasts of the so-called Jose Marti Radio to Cuba from 0500 on 20 May. The statement clearly pointed out: This action of the U.S. Government is aimed at creating tension and conflicts around Cuba.

In view of this hostile action by Washington, the Cuban Government has decided to cease implementation of the immigration agreement signed with the United States on 14 December 1984 and to reserve the right to beam medium-wave broadcasts to America to clarify Cuba's viewpoints and foreign policy.

NHAN DAN MARKS PRK'S DAY OF NATIONAL HATRED

BK210836 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 20 May 85

[20 May NHAN DAN commentary: "Resolutely Eliminate the Genocidal Clique To Protect the Rebirth of Cambodia"]

[Text] In Cambodia, today -- 20 May -- is the day of hatred for the genocidal Pol Pot regime. This is the day on which the Cambodian people review their agonized past, draw lessons for their present-day use, and heighten their determination to defend the welfare of themselves and their nation.

The crimes of the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique were innumerable. In 3 years, 8 months, and 20 days in power, they, using extremely barbarous means, killed 3,314,768 Cambodians of all strata, crippled 141,848 others, and rendered more than 200,000 children orphan. They destroyed 633,522 houses, including 5,857 schools, 976 hospitals, infirmaries, and laboratories. They also destroyed 1,968 pagodas and 108 mosques and turned many into detention camps and killed 1,507,416 cows and buffalo. The social fabric, national culture, and economic bases were uprooted. Human sentiments were trampled upon. The national history was pushed back for decades. Further evidence of their crimes continue to be brought to light.

The Polpotists' crimes have been condemned, detested, and abhorred worldwide. Their crimes were even more barbaric and horrible than those committed by the Hitlerite fascists during World War II. They are the most cursed criminals not only of the Cambodian people but also of the world people -- of all humanity.

Seething with anger for them, the Cambodian people have stood up, and with the assistance of Vietnam's Army and people, have smashed the awesome genocidal regime and saved Cambodia from the scourge of extermination. Over the past 6 years, under the revolutionary administration, a miraculous revival has taken place in Cambodia. Achievements in economic construction, in cultural development, and in the strengthening of national defense and security have contributed to bringing the country to a stable and solid position and to creating conditions for the Cambodian people to truly master their own destiny. The Cambodian people's revolutionary undertaking, shining with just cause, is increasingly winning sympathy and widespread support from the world's people.

Freed from genocide, the Cambodian people have no greater desire than to rebuild their country, to truly regain their right to live, and to preserve and develop human values. As the Cambodian people already endured untold sufferings under the genocidal yoke, they love the present life and peace more and more and want their country to be prosperous and happy. However, over the past 6 years, the expansionist, hegemonist, and reactionary forces have frenziedly carried out numerous evil schemes and tricks aimed at bringing the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khiev Samphan clique back to Cambodia in order to sabotage the Cambodian people's rebirth. It is these forces that are breathing life into, nurturing, directing, and urging the genocidal Khmer Rouge to continue to commit bloody crimes against the Cambodian people.

Morality and conscience mean nothing to those who have brought the bloodthirsty Khmer Rouge to this or that country so that they can declare themselves representatives of the Cambodian people and have provided them with arms and ammunition so they can oppose an independent and sovereign nation that has no desire other than to build a new life.

Drawing a lesson from blood and tears, the Cambodian people are resolved to smash the genocidal Polpotists, to never let them return to Cambodia, and to never allow crimes to be freely on the rampage. Today, this willpower is echoing throughout Cambodia as an oath. More than ever, the Cambodian people also realize from the fight against the genocidal clique the need to preserve forever their fraternal solidarity with the Vietnamese people and the militant solidarity among Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge army remnants are the archenemy of the Cambodian people that has caused constant instability along the Cambodian-Thai border and obstructed a solution to the question of Cambodia and peace in the region. Resolute elimination of the genocidal Pol Pot clique is the demand of conscience, reason, and tendency of our lives and our time.

MOSCOW PARTY GROUP'S HANOI VISIT SUMMARIZED

OW181816 Hanoi VNA in English 1553 GMT 18 May 85

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 18 -- A delegation of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Secretary of the Committee L.I. Matveyev visited Hanoi from May 13-18, at the invitation of the Hanoi party committee. While here, the delegation was warmly received by Nguyen Duc Tam, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee. It met with Le Van Luong, member of the party C.C. and secretary of the Hanoi party committee, and held talks with a delegation of the host committee led by Tran Tan, alternate member of the party C.C. and Deputy secretary of the committee. The two sides informed each other of the economic, cultural and social development of the two capital cities, exchanged experience in many fields, reviewed their cooperation since last year and worked out targets for their cooperation for the 1986-87 period.

The guests paid tribute at the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum, and visited the late president's residence and office, a number of Hanoi's economic and cultural establishments, and Ha Long Bay. The delegation was seen off this morning by Tran Tan, Soviet Ambassador to Vietnam B.N. Chaplin, and others.

SRV-PRC 11-17 MAY BORDER SKIRMISHES REPORTED

OW201540 Hanoi VNA in English 1527 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 20 -- From May 11 to 17, Chinese gunners fired 1,500 artillery rounds on the area north of the Thanh Thuy Bridge, and the Thanh Thuy Road intersection in Vi Xuyen District, Ha Tuyen Province.

Many groups of Chinese scouts and commandoes intruded into areas of Ca Lang and Pa U in Muong Te District, Lai Chau Province, and Hoang Mo District, Quang Ninh Province.

At 20 hrs. 30 on May 10, a Chinese infantry squad attacked Thang Tin Village in Hoang Su Phi District, Ha Tuyen Province, killing eight civilians and wounding three others. The intruders were duly punished by the local armed forces and people.

SRV MARKS HO CHI MINH'S 95TH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY

Truong Chinh Addresses Meeting

OW181732 Hanoi VNA in English 1650 GMT 18 May 85

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 18 -- A solemn meeting was held at the Ba Dinh Conference Hall here this morning in honour of President Ho Chi Minh's 95th birthday. It was attended by Vietnamese party and state leaders, representatives of offices, mass organizations, people of all walks of life, the diplomatic corps and many foreign guests.

The presidium of the meeting included Le Duan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee; Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the party Central Committee and president of the State Council; Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the National Assembly; and other high officials.

After the opening speech of Tran Vy, member of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Hanoi People's Committee, President Truong Chinh delivered the commemorative speech. He said:

"Following the path blazed by President Ho Chi Minh, our entire party, people and Army are striving to carry out two strategic tasks set by the fifth party congress: to successfully build socialism and firmly defend the Vietnamese socialist homeland. While asserting that our great achievements are fundamental, we have openly acknowledged shortcomings made by our party and state in all fields, chiefly in the economy and in improving the people's living conditions".

He continued: "The present world situation is very tense due to the fact that the militarist and war-mongering circles in the United States are feverishly stepping up the nuclear arms race. They have deployed nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Most recently, they have stepped up the militarization of the outer space and clamoured for the preparation of 'star wars'. They are attempting to break the equilibrium and gain military and nuclear superiority, thus placing the humankind before the real danger of a nuclear war of extermination, the consequences of which are unpredictable.

"In the face of such a situation, the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole is a completely correct policy. We welcome the Warsaw Treaty member countries' recent decision renewing the treaty for another 20 years. We strongly support the Soviet Union's principled stand and well-known peace initiatives, particularly the important proposals put forth recently by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee, for a simultaneous halt in the production and deployment of nuclear and space weapons. We warmly acclaim and fully support the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and the Soviet Council of Ministers' appeal to all nations, parliaments and governments on the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and militarism.

"The Soviet Union's new initiatives have enjoyed ever wider support of the world people, including people in the United States and Western Europe. These initiatives reflect the Soviet Union's unswerving, well-meaning policy of peace as well as its high sense of responsibility toward the whole humankind. All the measures taken by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community to counter the U.S.'s nuclear arms race have not only increased the defence capabilities of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole and prevented the war-like imperialists from gaining military superiority, but also helped expose Reagan's deceptive peace rhetoric and mobilize the world people, first of all people in Western Europe, in the struggle against the danger of a nuclear war.

While stepping up the nuclear arms race, the U.S. imperialists are trying to rally the other reactionary forces, repeatedly causing armed conflicts, regional wars, undeclared wars and proxy wars, in an attempt to snatch back their lost positions and keep their remaining ones, thus creating areas of tension on all continents.

For several decades now, Southeast Asia has been a centre of the revolutionary storm. The situation in the region at present remains explosive. In this region, the reactionary circles in the Beijing authorities in collusion with the U.S. imperialists are obdurately opposing the Indochinese countries and inciting confrontation between the ASEAN and the three Indochinese nations. [sentence as received] The U.S. imperialists are turning the East Asia-Pacific region into an element of their counterrevolutionary global strategy. In this region, the imperialists expansionists and hegemonists not only are directing their spearhead at Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries but are also opposing the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community, opposing the trend of peace, stability and cooperation between countries in the region. That is why, in the present international situation, the movement for world peace against the preparations for a nuclear war is a task of primary importance and epochal significance for all nations in the world and the struggle against expansionism and hegemonism is an important and inseparable part of this movement.

It should be stressed that Beijing's strategy and tactics regarding Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea remain unchanged. In spite of Beijing's wicked maneuvers of provocation and sabotage, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is moving forward steadily. The Kampuchean revolution continues to gain major victories, especially in the recent deadly blow it dealt at the multi-faceted plan of sabotage by the reactionaries, including the so-called "guerrilla" operations of the Pol Pot remnants. The Lao revolution continues to develop, foiling one after the other all the schemes of annexation, sabotage and subversion by the reactionaries.

The general situation in the Indochinese peninsula is more and more favorable for the revolution and peace in the region. The trend of dialogue is repelling that of confrontation in Southeast Asia. The militant solidarity, friendship and cooperation between the three Indochinese countries is consolidating and strengthening. The Sino-American scheme of dividing the three Indochinese countries has met with new setbacks. The solidarity, friendship and allround cooperation between the three Indochinese countries and the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community is consolidating and developing with every passing day.

The Vietnamese people always respect their long-standing friendship with the Chinese people and wish for peaceful co-existence and friendship with China and the other countries in Southeast Asia. Vietnam is prepared to normalize its relations with China and will persistently struggle in this direction. Nevertheless, the people and Armed Forces of Vietnam resolutely oppose the expansionists and hegemonists as well as their hostile policy towards Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and are determined to defeat all acts of land-grabbing and aggression against their homeland.

The imperialists and the other reactionary forces, however bellicose, cannot stand in the way of the strong development of the three revolutionary currents in the world. The world socialist system with the Soviet Union as its mainstay, together with the other revolutionary and peace-loving forces, continue to grow strong incessantly, the possibility to defend and preserve world peace is realistic. The forces of peace are firmer and stronger than ever".

The meeting wound up to the stirring rhythm of the song "As If Uncle Ho Were With Us on the Day of Victory".

Leaders Pay Tribute

OW181600 Hanoi VNA in English 1551 GMT 18 May 85

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 18 -- Highest leaders of the Communist Party, the National Assembly, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the Fatherland Front Central Committee, the Hanoi party, people's and Fatherland Front committees, today paid tribute at the Ho Chi Minh mausoleum in honour of the late president's 95th birthday. The tribute-payers included Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Nguyen Huu Tho, Hoang Quoc Viet, Huynh Tan Phat, and officials. The same day, 44 delegations of many public offices, branches of activity, localities and army units also paid tribute at the mausoleum.

Pham Van Dong Visits Birthplace

OW191618 Hanoi VNA in English 1604 GMT 19 May 85

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 19 -- Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has visited the birthplace of President Ho Chi Minh in the central Vietnam Province of Nghe Tinh and attended celebrations there in honour of the president's 95th birthday. He was welcomed by Nguyen Ky Cam, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, secretary of the provincial party committee and chairman of the provincial people's committee, and the command [as received] of the fourth military zone.

This morning, Chairman Pham Van Dong paid tribute at the grave of the president's mother, Mrs. Hoang Thi Loan, in Nam Giang village, Nam Dan District.

In Kim Lien commune in the same district, the homeland of President Ho's parents, Chairman Pham Van Dong visited the house where President Ho Chi Minh was born. He also visited Lang Sen (lotus village) where the president spent six years of this childhood, and also called on the local museum. While in Nghe Tinh Province, Chairman Pham Van Dong had working sessions with the standing boards of the provincial party and people's committees and toured a number of economic and cultural establishments in the provincial town of Vinh [place name as received]

Pham Van Dong Speech

OW211520 Hanoi VNA in English 1449 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 21 -- Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, recently visited President Ho Chi Minh's native place in Kim Lien village, Nam Dan District, Nghe Tinh Province (central Vietnam) and attended the celebration of his 95th birthday held in Vinh city by the provincial party and people's committees.

Chairman Pham Van Dong paid tribute at the tomb of Uncle Ho's mother, Mrs. Hoang Thi Loan, on Dai Hue Mount.

Addressing a meeting in honour of President Ho's 95th birthday, which was attended by more than 500 veteran revolutionaries, cadres and representatives of the local population and Armed Forces, Chairman Pham Van Dong brought out Uncle Ho's virtues and his great contributions to the Vietnamese nation and to the world revolution. He said:

"The entire history of our nation had laid the groundwork for the birth of a new era when Vietnamese nationalism is harmoniously combined with Marxism-Leninism, the light, truth and quintessence of our time embodied by President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of our party, our state, our national united front and our people's army, who, together with our party, led the Vietnamese revolution to weather all storms and win one victory after another until the glorious victory we are celebrating this year.

"After the Great Russian October Socialist Revolution from the early 20's of this century and throughout his revolutionary life, President Ho Chi Minh, with his wide range of view encompassed the past and the future, and envisioned the great turning points, to take the Vietnamese nation from the status of slavery to independence and freedom, and make of the little-known Vietnam the symbol of the struggle for national independence and socialism loved and admired by the whole progressive mankind. President Ho with his strategic look decided that the only way to save the country is the proletarian revolution in which national independence merges with socialism, patriotism merges with proletarian internationalism and the fight for national independence is interwoven with the socialist revolution in each country and on the world scale.

"This outlook and our people's revolutionary ardour have combined to arouse the strength, talent and wisdom of our nation and to forge what is known as the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism, the root of all victories.

"President Ho Chi Minh always considered the Vietnamese revolution part of the world revolution which serves as its important mainstay and source of strength. He brought the light of Marxism-Leninism to the three countries on the Indochinese peninsula, and right from the beginning took great pains to foster the special militant solidarity between the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. President Ho always kept the firm belief in and fine sentiments towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the working class's movement in all countries. He was a patriot fighting for his own nation, and at the same time a militant of the world revolution who earned profound respect from the people in the socialist countries, all the oppressed peoples and all the working masses on this planet".

NHAN DAN Editorial

BK190807 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 17 May 85

[NHAN DAN 18 May editorial: "Uncle Ho"]

[Text] For the past 4 decades, generations of Vietnamese from north to south and from the lowlands to the mountainous regions have all called our great leader Uncle Ho. It is certain that future generations, when referring to the man who founded the era in which the Vietnamese nation regained independence and freedom, who victoriously led the two sacred wars of resistance against the two big empires -- France and the United States -- and who brought the entire country to socialism, will also call him Uncle Ho.

In calling him uncle, people his age consider him their big brother; the younger generation, their father; and the compatriots throughout the country, a beloved family member. Friends throughout the world also call President Ho Chi Minh Uncle Ho in their own languages. Uncle Ho is the symbol of our nation's struggle and the symbol of leadership for the masses of oppressed and exploited nations and classes who rise up to overthrow the colonial rule of imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism; regain independence and freedom; and build a new life.

In ancient times, many heroic figures appeared in the enslaved masses' struggle for liberation, and their names were entered in history and are known today. When imperialism imposed its capitalist rule and a new system of slavery on the whole of mankind, the struggle for world liberation was society's last great struggle. Pointing the way for and beginning the liberation of all nations and classes enslaved by capitalism were the founders of scientific socialism -- Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Ilych Lenin. These great men were the perfect symbolic leaders of modern times. In following and inheriting the work of these founders of an era, each nation and each liberation has bred its own leading figures whose symbolism is both general and particular.

Ho Chi Minh was a revolutionary leader of the Marxist-Leninist mold and an emancipator of slaves who profoundly displayed the Vietnamese character. Uncle Ho symbolizes the ardent desire to liberate the country and its people; the extraordinary will to attain the truth and ideals; the apex of intelligence of our times; the endurance of all trials and sacrifices for the sake of a lofty, historic mission; and the modest and gregarious way of life of ordinary people. Born and brought up when the country was under foreign rule and one uprising after another was being quelled to the despair of many, he left the country with the determination to save the nation and find the truth rapidly. Defining the platform, setting up the party, and training cadres were preparatory moves creating the fundamental conditions and the primary factors for the success of the revolution.

Our uncle was born of revolutionary storms. His life consisted of 20 years of underground activities, two prison terms, and the command of a general uprising and two protracted wars. Being clear-sighted at major turning points and remaining calm in the face of great trials -- these valuable traits became ever more distinct in difficult times. In spite of his position as the top leader, our uncle was concerned with both important and ordinary tasks. He himself attended to small but necessary tasks and untiringly urged his subordinates to do the same. Throughout his life, Uncle Ho maintained a revolutionary lifestyle, considering work the source of joy, the reason for being, and the source of happiness. With his great desire for knowledge, a day never passed that he did not read and exchange ideas with others. Writing newspaper articles and poems were another source of joy for him. He wrote in a simple style that can be understood by anyone. He liked to live close to nature, dress casually, and eat familiar national dishes, strongly disliking particularity and luxury. He respected the elderly and loved teenagers and children.

Uncle Ho's greatness comes from his work, his modesty, and his principled character. He always highly appreciated the heroic work of the entire party and people. He wrote extensively about the examples of heroism displayed by the masses and Army combatants. He always respected the will of the collective and took great care to educate everyone constantly in revolutionary ethics, the organizational and disciplinary principles of the party, the law of the state, and the obligation to look after the people's interests.

Uncle Ho -- the symbolic emancipator of the oppressed -- is a great example for all of us. He will forever remain our respected and beloved Uncle Ho.

LE DUAN VISITS VUNG TAU-CON DAO OIL, GAS SITE

BK200622 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 19 May 85

[Text] CPV Central Committee General Secretary Le Duan recently visited Vung Tau-Con Dao special zone. Welcoming and working with the general secretary were Comrades Le Quang Thanh and Le Xian Thuy, respectively secretary and deputy secretary of the zone party committee, and (Nguyen Hoang Thuyet), chairman of the special zone People's Committee.

The local leaders reported to the general secretary on the quick changes and progress of the special zone over the past 10 years. Once an entertainment center and an important military base for the U.S.-puppet regime, Vung Tau has gradually become an industrial zone for oil exploration and exploitation, a resort and tourist center, a fishing port turning out 35,000 metric tons of products annually, and a national security and defense outpost at the entrance to Ho Chi Minh City.

The local leaders accompanied the general secretary to the oil and gas technical service base, the sea products port, the Phuoc Co shrimp raising farm, the exhibition fair for socioeconomic achievements, the cultural park, and some other service installations.

The general secretary also attended and addressed the conference held by the special zone party committee to review the party development task. He commended the cadres, people, and combatants of Vung Tau-Con Dao for their efforts and achievements in opening the great prospects of the first oil and gas industry area in our country. He stressed the great honor and responsibility of the Vung Tau-Con Dao government for cooperating with the central and other local governments in the struggle to find oil and gas for our country promptly by making positive contributions to building the sector of oil and gas exploration and exploitation into an important spearhead in the first heavy industries of the country.

He repeatedly urged the party organizations, especially at the grass-roots level, really to develop the people's collective mastery over all political, economic, cultural, and social fields -- in production as well as in distribution, circulation, and consumption -- and to train workers further and raise the level of their knowledge gradually until they have the ability and quality to master society, nature, and themselves. First of all, the Communist Party members must improve their quality, develop their exemplary role, and struggle for the sake of loyalty to the socialist homeland and the people's happiness.

The general secretary listened to reports by the personnel of the general department of oil and gas on the situation of oil and gas in the south and received the delegations of Soviet experts and workers from the joint Vietnamese-Soviet oil and gas enterprise. Comrade (Angelof), the enterprise general director, reported the encouraging results and fine prospects in exploration and the preparations for exploiting oil and gas in the Vung Tau sea zone. He also pointed out the immediate difficulties to be overcome through common effort to accelerate exploration and exploitation.

The Soviet experts pledged to devote all their efforts and experience to the exploration and exploitation of oil and gas and to help train the contingent of Vietnamese oil and gas workers.

In a cordial conversation with the Soviet experts, General Secretary Le Duan warmly thanked the Soviet Union for its great aid to Vietnam in the former resistance struggle as well as in the present national construction and defense. He thanked the Soviet cadres, engineers, and workers who are directly assisting in building Vietnam's oil and gas sector.

The general secretary asserted the close and comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam as a guarantee of peace and stability and of the independence, freedom, and social progress of countries in Southeast Asia as well as of Asia and the Pacific. His visit is a source of great encouragement to the people and soldiers in Vung Tau-Con Dao special zone. Comrade Le Quang Thanh, secretary of the special zone party committee, promised to mobilize all party members and people in the zone to implement scrupulously the general secretary's directives to advance Vung Tau-Con Dao even more vigorously and rapidly to be worthy of the concern and confidence of the party Central Committee.

VAN TIEN DUNG VISITS CAM RANH, TRUONG SA ISLAND

BK150718 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the liberation of the south, International Labor Day, and the 30th founding anniversary of the Vietnam People's Navy, Senior General Van Tien Dung, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and minister of national defense, has visited naval zone X, Cam Ranh military port, and Truong Sa District and inspected training work and the state of combat readiness in these places.

After he was briefed by the commander of naval zone X, Sen Gen Van Tien Dung made a tour of the Cam Ranh military port and then left for the Truong Sa Island -- center of Truong Sa District -- where he visited many places and inspected the activities of various units defending the island. Comrade Van Tien Dung was very happy to learn that combatants on duty on the island are well and have overcome all difficulties to bring about a delightful and healthy life.

At a solemn ceremony held on the island to confer the military service order first class on the Truong Sa group, Comrade Van Tieng Dung conveyed the kind regards of Comrade Le Duan, together with a portrait of the general secretary, to the cadres and combatants of Truong Sa. He commended naval zone X, Cam Ranh military port, and the units defending the Truong Sa archipelago in particular, for the great achievements they have recorded over the past 10 years. He also urged all cadres and combatants to realize the honor and responsibility in the task of defending a sea area of the country, which holds an extremely important strategic position militarily and economically.

With emotion, the senior general and his party signed their names in the visitors' book and planted a memorial tree on the island.

Expressing his profound gratitude to the party, the state, and the Ministry of National Defense for their kind attention, the comrade colonel deputy commander of naval zone X, on behalf of the cadres and combatants of the Truong Sa group, promised to devoutly follow the instructions and advice of the comrade senior general in order to make naval zone X, Cam Ranh military port, and Truong Sa archipelago firm and strong in every respect; satisfactorily fulfill all assignments; and firmly build and defend the sotheastern islands of the country.

BRIEFS

AFFORESTATION IN SOUTH -- Over the past 10 years, the southern provinces from Binh Tri Thien southward have grown 369,166 hectares of forests and 858 million trees. In recent years, the afforestation movement has developed fairly strongly in the Mekong River Delta provinces, Ho Chi Minh City, Quang Nam-Danang, and Binh Tri Thien, effectively contributing to fulfilling the national afforestation targets set forth by the fifth party congress. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 19 May 85 BK]

\$10 BILLION FINANCIAL RESCUE AGREEMENTS SIGNED

HK210506 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] The Philippines signed yesterday [20 May] the long-delayed \$10 billion rescue package with its foreign bank creditors. The agreement, signed in New York, signalled the start of the march toward economic recovery for the country. Prime Minister Cesar Virata and Central Bank Governor Jose Fernandez signed for the Philippines. Heading the Philippine foreign creditors is the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company which chairs the 12-man bank advisory committee for the Philippines.

The \$10 billion rescue package includes agreements on \$925 million in new loans, \$3 billion in new trade facilities and the rescheduling of about \$5.7 billion in debt principal that fell due between 1983 and 1985. The new credits carried a 5-year grace period. Bankers and economists in Manila hailed the signing of the accord with 482 international banks. They said it signalled the start of a long march for economic recovery for the country.

Marcos Comments

HK211208 Quezon City Maharlika Broadcasting System in English 1100 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] President Marcos today hailed the signing of two new loan agreements between the Philippine Government and its creditor banks in New York. Signed were \$925 million in new loans and \$3 billion in trade facilities. The president said the signing of the financial package is the beginning of surer and much greater economic activity.

[Begin Marcos recording] The signing [words indistinct] grounds for freer efforts at working out the economic recovery program. [words indistinct] the return to much greater economic activity. It does not mean that we have reached the point where we can cease our unrelenting efforts [word indistinct] maintaining the discipline, the sacrifice, and the dedicated work which we have been engaged in for the past year or two. It merely means that we will have more opportunities for greater economic activity in (?giving) investments from domestic and foreign sources other than those that are included in the restructuring program with the IMF, and the possibility of increased stabilization of the [words indistinct] exchange rate. We continue with more prudence and dedication as well as implement our plans without slacking in application, discipline, and pursuing the priorities that we have established. Interest rates, which are the key to all forms of investment, will go down and bring about a 360-degree turn in the attitude not only of domestic investors but foreign investors as well. This will bring the much-needed capital for production, the general thrust of all our efforts to date to adhere to our recovery plan resolutely, relentlessly, and I am confident that we will attain economic recovery faster than we may envision right now. Thank you. [end recording]

Officials Hail Agreements

HK211256 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in Tagalog 1000 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] High Philippine Government officials have expressed confidence in the continued improvement of the Philippine economy. This was the reaction after the new loan agreement was signed in New York for \$4 billion in new credit and trade facilities. During the signing ceremonies, the head of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Bank, Harry Taylor, praised the Philippines for its economic recovery measures. Philippine Ambassador to the United States Benjamin Romualdez stated that the new agreement is proof of the country's credit worthiness. Central Bank Governor Jose Fernandez, who signed the agreement on behalf of the Philippines, said the funds will be utilized for further stabilizing the economy.

Further Reaction

HK211200 Hong Kong AFP in English 0932 GMT 21 May 85

[By Roberto Coloma]

[Text] Manila, May 21 (AFP) -- Philippine officials today hailed the approval of nearly four billion dollars in new bank loans and trade credits to the country, but economists, businessmen and the opposition were guarded, or even cynical.

President Ferdinand Marcos said the loans augured well for the battered economy, which posted minus 5.5 percent growth in 1984, but called for continued discipline to ensure recovery from a crippling crisis that began in late 1983.

Premier Cesar Virata and Central Bank Governor Jose Fernandez yesterday signed an agreement in New York for 925 million dollars in new money with a consortium of over 400 banks led by Manufacturers Hanover Trust (Mantrust). They also signed an agreement for three billion dollars in trade credits with the Chemical Bank, coordinator for the facility.

The two amounts are part of a nearly 10 billion dollar financial rescue package worked out by Manila with its bank creditors, which also includes the restructuring over a 10-year period of some 5.8 billion dollars' worth of due and maturing loans.

Mr Marcos said in a speech broadcast by state television today that the loan agreements, which were delayed several times due to snags in negotiations, marked "the beginning of a turn towards greater economic activity." But, he added, this did not mean "that we have reached the point where we should cease our unrelenting efforts at maintaining the discipline, the balance and the dedicated work which we have been engaged in."

Mr Marcos said he expected increased foreign and domestic investments, a stabilized Philippine peso and lower interest rates following the agreements. However, opposition M.P. Luis Villafuerte, a former trade and industry minister under Mr Marcos, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the new loans constituted a "drop in the bucket" compared to what the country needed. "It creates merely an illusion that fresh funds are coming in, but does not meet the actual demands of the economy," he said.

Mr Villafuerte acknowledged that the trade facility was "a good starting point", but said the amount needed was 4.5 billion to five billion dollars.

Hundreds of Philippine firms have collapsed, thousands of workers have lost their jobs and the entire country has felt the effects of austerity measures, including two peso devaluations, adopted since the economic crisis began.

The Philippines, saddled with a 26 billion dollar foreign debt, began feeling financial woes in mid-1983 and reeled from a full-blown national crisis after the murder of opposition leader Benigno Aquino in August that year. As capital fled from the country and foreign investors and creditors were scared off by the post-Aquino turmoil, Manila declared a moratorium on commercial loan repayments in October. It has paid only interest since then.

Manila passed the most crucial hurdle in December 1984, when it obtained a 610 million dollar standby loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which approved a recovery program backed by the Philippines' bank lenders.

"The program has been working. The bullet has been bitten," the PHILIPPINE NEWS AGENCY (PNA) quoted Central Bank chief Jose Fernandez as saying in New York after the new loan agreements were signed. However, some economists and opposition figures here were less enthusiastic. Ramon Del Rosario, president of the Asian Savings Bank here, said: "The real problem is still restoring the confidence of the business community. The new money may help a little bit, but the problem is still the national leadership, and until that problem is addressed and resolved, then the economy will continue to perform very poorly," he said.

Leto Villar, a spokesman for the militant May First Movement (KMU) labor group, said the agreements were "like somebody is lending you money to pay off your old debts." He said the KMU was against all loans to the Marcos government.

Vaughn Montes, deputy director of the Institute of Industrial Economics at the Manila-based economic think tank Center for Research and Communications (CRC) said the actual release of the new loans would depend on an assessment by the IMF at the end of this month. "The package is a significant step in the sense that the bank creditors have put their commitment on paper. But recovery itself will depend on adapting correct economic policy," he said.

POLICE RAID SUSPECTED NPA SAFEHOUSE IN QUEZON CITY

HK220600 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] A soldier and a civilian were killed and three others wounded when lawmen stormed yesterday [21 May] a suspected NPA liquidation squad safehouse in San Francisco Del Monte in Quezon City. The suspected NPA hit men were believed responsible for the murder of police Brigadier General Tomas Karingal last year. Six NPA members of the sparrow unit armed with AK-47 and Armalite rifles engaged the police and Metrocom [Metropolitan Command] troops in a 5-hour gun battle but were able to escape. They apparently took advantage of the thick smoke caused by smoke grenades and teargas to flee through a creek located at the back of the house.

The fatalities were Metrocom Sergeant Leslie Kerubong and a civilian identified as Antonio Mercado. The battle started when the lawmen stormed the suspected safehouse following a tip. Teams of Metrocom, intelligence, and police operatives are scouring Quezon City for the escaped NPA suspects.

GOVERNMENT ISSUES WHITE PAPER ON INSURGENCY

Part I

HK141548 Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 13 May 85 pp 1, 10

["Part I" of a "white paper" on the communist insurgency by staff members of the Ministry of National Defense, Office of Media Affairs, and the President's Center for Special Studies -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS DOCUMENT

1. TWO COMMUNIST PARTIES

There is an aboveground Communist party in the Philippines -- the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) -- from which the Communist Party of the Philippines (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought) or CPP split in 1968 on the question of which strategy to emphasize. The PKP chose the "legal or parliamentary struggle" after the defeat of its Huk rebellion in Central Luzon; and made its peace with Government in 1974. The CPP chose the "armed struggle," and founded the so-called New People's Army (NPA) in 1969.

If the CPP should now consent to its legalization -- as the political Opposition proposes -- it would lose its entire reason for being.

2. NPA STRENGTH AND EXTENT OF INFLUENCE

Current AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] intelligence estimates place the number of NPA guerrillas at between 10,000 and 12,000 regulars, only two-thirds of whom are armed. The NPA has political and military infrastructure established in some four percent of the country's 41,615 barrios. Its armed propaganda teams occasionally visit another nine percent of all barrios. The main NPA operational areas are the Cordilleras of Northern Luzon, the hinterlands of Samar and Panay islands in the Visayas group and the mountainous regions of Mindanao Island. Intelligence places the CPP-NPA mass base at less than one percent of the country's total population.

3.. COMPOSITION OF THE NPA

Only a few of the NPA guerrillas are committed -- politicized -- Communists. Some are plain criminals, local bandits or bored young people seeking adventure, any kind of adventure. The great majority are not even Marxists at all. They are what sociologists would call millenarians -- a type of rural rebel well known to the indigenous revolutionary tradition. They have their own reasons for being dissatisfied with the established order, their own expectations, their own symbols and rituals, their own goals -- in short, their own view of the world -- and this does not conform with what the Marxists in the CPP-NPA regard the world as being.

4. NPA'S INCREASING RESORT TO TERRORISM

The NPA's increasing resort to terrorism to achieve its local goals is a confession of its failure to win mass support. More and more the NPA guerrillas are going in for assassination, liquidations, kidnapping, robberies and holdups. They now routinely support themselves through extortion -- enforced taxation -- of business establishments and moneyed people. In the Cagayan Valley, for example, they are carrying out a fund-raising drive, code-named "Operation Sweet Elephant," designed to extort exorbitant fees -- ironically styled "progressive taxes" -- from businessmen, logging concessionaires, sawmill operators and banana dealers.

The NPA is also growing marijuana for both the local and world markets in at least 11 large plantations located in various parts of the archipelago.

5. GUERRILLA-FRONT STRATEGY COULD RAISE NPA WARLORDS

The NPA's guerrilla-front strategy purports to adapt the Maoist concept of a secure rear base -- as Yenan was to the Chinese Communist -- to the archipelagic character of the Philippines.

The slogans for this strategy is "centralized leadership, decentralized operations." Intelligence analysts foresee dangers for the NPA in this concept. It could at the very least encourage insubordination by ambitious regional cadres; and it is not far-fetched to see this system as evolving into a pattern of NPA warlords. This was what happened in China in the interval between the fall of the Manchu Empire and the success of Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition to reunify the country under the Kuomintang.

An excess of terrorism can also result easily from this arrangement. So can instances of regional cadres feathering their own nests while ostensibly raising funds for the movement. The reports of NPA ventures into marijuana cultivation in Northern Luzon may be traceable to this strategy.

6. CPP'S UNITED-FRONT STRATEGY IS NOT WORKING -- BECAUSE OF CPP DOGMATISM AND ITS OVERWHELMING DESIRE TO DOMINATE THE ENTIRE LEFT-WING MOVEMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The CPP regards united-front building as essential to its effort to bring down the Government. It sees any political dissatisfaction or instability in the cities as helpful to its rural insurgency. Thus, the CPP has not disdained allying itself with political and civic groupings it refers to in its private communications as "bourgeois reformers."

The main CPP actors in this work are the Party United Front Commission and its working arm, the National Democratic Front (NDF). Another organization, called the National Commission on Mass Movements, is responsible for infiltrating the various groups and conducting mass protest activities.

Though the CPP has had some isolated successes in this work, the United Front has generally not worked well. Though the NDF tries to project itself as a "nonideological" umbrella for all anti-Government groups, the CPP cannot resist its tendency to be dogmatic -- to insist that it alone is correct on political questions -- and thus to dominate NDF activities. This dogmatism has alienated other left-wing and left-of-center groups that would be the usual components of any genuine united front.

7. AFP REFORMS AND CIVIC-ACTION PROGRAMS ARE MAKING GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO INSURGENCY MORE AND MORE EFFECTIVE.

Continuing reforms in the AFP command structure, logistics and troop discipline are making it more and more effective a force against the insurgents. Since 1982, for instance, the AFP has neutralized 119 ranking CPP-NPA leaders -- among them ten members of the Party Central Committee. In 1985 the AFP is addressing itself primarily to (a) stabilizing the peace-and-order situation; and (b) mobilizing local populations actively to help the Government in civic-action programs.

Part II

HK160938 Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 14 May 85 pp 1, 24-25

["Part II" of a "white paper" on the communist insurgency by staff members of the Ministry of National Defense, Office of Media Affairs, and the President's Center for Special Studies -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CPP-NPA

The Communist Party of the Philippines (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought) and its armed force, the "New People's Army," which are engaged in insurgency in some parts of the Philippines, evolved from an intense internal struggle that wracked the 55-year-old Partido Komunista ng Philipinas (PKP) in the middle of the 1960s.

The struggle between established leaders and young militants in the PKP was caused by a dispute over the PKP's recent history -- specifically over the strategy which had led to the PKP's defeat in an insurgency from 1948 to 1953 and the decimation of its Huk guerrillas at the hands of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). This rift became so bitter that in 1967 the PKP expelled the group of young militants for criticizing the strategic and doctrinal mistakes of its traditional leaders.

In retaliation, 11 of the young activists, led by Jose Ma. Sison, alias Amado Guerrero, founded their own Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in December 1968.

In March 1969 a group of Huk holdouts led by Bernabe Buscayno, alias "Kumander Dante," joined forces with the CPP to form the "New People's Army" (NPA). Since then the CPP-NPA has fought its version of "people's war" against the Philippine State -- a combination of rural insurgency and urban subversion made acute over the past few years by the severe effect on the country of the worldwide economic crisis.

ROOTS OF COMMUNISM

Communism came into the Philippines in the 1920s -- the most active period of Soviet missionary activity -- from its first Asian footholds in China and the then Netherlands East Indies. On August 26, 1930, leading labor leaders met in Tondo -- the worker and revolutionary district of Manila -- formally to organize the PKP. Its avowed aim was to unite all Filipino workers and peasants, work to improve their living and working conditions, overthrow the American colonial government and set up an independent Philippine State patterned after that of the Soviet Union.

In 1932 the Supreme Court declared the PKP an illegal association and exiled its leaders to various outlying provinces. Even after the Party was restored to legality a few years later, it remained weak and small, operating at the fringes of national politics. One reason for this was that -- in accordance with classical Marxist doctrine -- it sought the revolutionary class in the "urban proletariat" and so concentrated its proselytizing and organizational work among the few labor unions, particularly those in Manila. The PKP supported strikes and fanned worker unrest, but posed a minor threat to the American regime. Its total membership in the 1930s probably never exceeded 3,000.

PKP ACQUIRES A PEASANT BASE

In 1938 the PKP merged with the Socialist Party, a peasant-based party that had been founded in 1932 in Pampanga province. Having the highest tenancy rate in the country, Pampanga was the hotbed of agrarian unrest in the rice plain of Central Luzon. Here the emerging market economy was replacing the customary face-to-face relationships between peasants and landlords. The decline of personalist ties and the increasing importance of cash crops like sugar were producing a veritable "rural proletariat" increasingly aware of its shared hardships and its potential strength.

This aroused peasantry banded in various tenants' unions and mutual-help organizations often led by Socialist militants. Unavoidably, these groupings soon clashed with those formed in reaction by landlords; thus, organized protest gradually became organized rebellion. During the Pacific War and the Japanese Occupation, the merged PKP-Socialist Party founded a guerrilla force, the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon ("People's Anti-Japanese Army") or Hukbalahap, which fought not only the Japanese and their Filipino auxiliaries but also the region's landlords and their private armies.

The postwar period found the PKP's position vastly enhanced. Armed Huks numbered around 10,000 and the Party's mass organizations covered both Manila and the heartland of Luzon. The peasant mass organization, Ang Pambansang Kaisahan ng Magbubukid [National Union of Farmers] (PKM), had branches in every town and barrio of Central Luzon and Southern Luzon. In Manila and the other large cities, the PKP front, Congress of Labor Organizations, wielded considerable influence over the union movement. Moreover, Huk participation in the war had "legitimized" the PKP.

THE HUK REBELLION

Exploiting these advantages, the PKP fielded candidates under the Democratic alliance in the 1946 elections and won six seats in Congress. When these candidates were barred from seating on charges of fraud and other election irregularities, PKP's leadership became divided on what course to pursue. Pedro Castro, then Party Chairman, favored continuing the parliamentary struggle. Believing the time was ripe for wresting State power, a more militant group led by Jose Lava chose armed struggle -- and won control of the PKP. The initial successes of the Huks -- renamed of "People's Liberation Army" -- seemed to prove the hardliners right. By 1950 Lava declared the existence of a "revolutionary situation" and predicted a PKP takeover in two years. The Party now went all-out to win -- speeding up recruitment, combining warfare, and throwing even legal cadres into the fray.

This policy -- which the founders of the CPP subsequently called the "putschist line" -- failed miserably. Mass recruitment opened the PKP and the Huks to infiltration by Government agents. Choosing to slug it out with regular troops proved foolhardy for the Huks, in the face of a numerically superior, and by the revitalized, AFP. Within a few years the Government had broken the back of the PKP-Huk rebellion.

By 1954 Jesus Lava, who had succeeded his elder brother Jose as head of the PKP, called for another shift -- this time from the armed to the parliamentary struggle. Three years later, Lava broke up the Party's Leninist-style organization in favor of a looser arrangement and more autonomy for individual Party members -- a policy the CPC renegades criticized as virtually liquidating the PKP.

The PKP generally welcomed the Marcos Administration's reforms under martial law -- particularly land reform and the breaking-up of private armies. It renounced the armed struggle in October 1974 when it negotiated a "political settlement" with the Government that restored it to full legality.

PKP TODAY

This settlement -- the CPP calls it a "surrender" -- enabled PKP leaders led by Felicisimo Macapagal, the Secretary General, the Party membership and the last Huk holdouts, led by Mariano de Guzman, alias "Commander Diwa," to give up their clandestine life; and imprisoned PKP chieftains, like Jesus Lava, to be set free. It also enabled the PKP to keep its organizational network from falling apart. In the late 1970s the PKP discreetly resumed its recruitment and expansion program, drawing up its decentralization plan. This divided the country into three areas: Northern and Central Luzon; Metro Manila and Rizal Province; and Southern Luzon and the whole of the Visayas and Mindanao. For the early 1980s, the PKP claims an increase of as much as 100 percent in Party membership and the aggregate strength of its mass organizations. Area committees work mainly through sectoral front-organizations such as Aniban ng mga Manggagawa sa Agrikultura ("Association of Agricultural Workers"), which claims 30,000 members, Katipunan ng Bagong Pilipino ("Society of the New Filipino"), 40,000 members; and Samahan sa Ikaunlad ng Kabataang Pilipino ("Association for the Advancement of the Filipino Youth"), 15,000 members.

MAOISTS IN THE PKP

From 1957 until 1964 the PKP -- defeated, demoralized and confused -- did no active recruiting. Ironically, the Party was turned in on itself at a time revolutionary radicalism seemed ascendant in the world; in the Congo, Cuba, Vietnam, Indonesia, China and the student movement in the United States and Western Europe.

In the Philippines, university students caught up in this worldwide movement were finding their own way to the Marxist classics, without benefit of PKP tutelage. Eventually, these student Marxists -- the most prominent of them from the University of the Philippines (UP) -- were drawn into the Youth Section of the PKP.

The UP scholar Francisco Nemenzo has recorded the stir the student recruits made in the old Party. The old PKP cadres were cautious and conservative: the recruits, never having tasted defeat, were "raring for a fight." The young cadres insisted on a critical review of the P.P. past: "to set the Party on a fresh track and preclude repetition of fatal errors." Finally, Jose Ma. Sison wrote a draft that criticized serious errors in judgment made by the three Lava brothers who had largely run the PKP from 1942 to 1964. After complex maneuvers, the Lavas expelled Sison and his followers from the PKP in April 1967. Since the split within the PKP occurred at the height of the Sino-Soviet dispute, the two factions were unavoidably drawn into the camp of one or the other of their quarrelsome big brothers. The young heretics from the beginning used the rhetoric of China's Cultural Revolution; after 1971 the PKP traditionalists openly aligned themselves with the Soviet Party.

Rise of the CPP-NPA

On December 26, 1968 -- Mao's 75th birthday anniversary -- Sison and ten other young radicals founded the Communist Party of the Philippines in a "Congress of Reestablishment," held in a village in Pangasinan province in Central Luzon. To differentiate it from the PKP, the CPP added to the new Party's name the three sources of its corporate ideology, "Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought." The founding members were largely university students, teachers and professionals. Early the next year, they linked up with Bernabe Buscayno's small band of Huk stragglers. Buscayno, "Kumander Dante," then a middle-ranking cadre of the PKP, was at loose ends; his senior Huk commanders had all but given up revolution in favor of Mafia-style criminality, which included a protection racket in Angeles City close to the U.S. Clark Airbase in Pampanga. Dante chose to break away from it.

On March 29, 1969 -- the 27th anniversary of the original Huk Army -- the CPP founded its "New People's Army" and began its protracted war against the State.

STUDENT ACTIVISM

During this period a spirit of rebellion, a demand for change in established institutions, was agitating young people all over the world. In Manila and the other big cities, the CPP-NPA rode on this rebellious spirit among high-school and university students. Apart from infiltrating the student movement, CPP cadres concentrated on the media and the labor unions, working to harness them against what it identified as the main enemies: "imperialism," "feudalism" and "bureaucratic capitalism." Skillfully manipulating popular discontent at an outmoded political system, the CPP fueled increasingly riotous demonstrations, sit-ins, teach-ins and other mass actions by student and worker associations.

In 1970 the CPP-NPA started on an experiment in urban-guerrilla warfare -- launching a series of bombing attacks in Manila and nearby cities. It also began setting up front organizations, while stepping up the infiltration of student, worker and professional groupings. Eventually, the CPP managed to infiltrate or establish and control nine major labor organizations. It also succeeded in converting 11 major student or youth organizations into CPP fronts.

At one time, there were some 30 mass organizations actively advancing CPP interests -- among them the Malayang Samahan ng Magsasaka ("Free Association of Peasants"); the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) or "Nationalism (MAN); the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan ("Democratic Youth Association"); the Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino ("Free Union of Filipinos"). By August 1971 the KM alone had 245 operational chapters throughout the country: from these chapters were recruited NPA cadres and Party members.

In 1970 alone, the CPP took a leading part in 258 major demonstrations; of these, 33 ended in violence, resulting in 15 persons killed and over 500 injured. Most of these actions were organized, coordinated or led by CPP front organizations. The violent demonstrations were generally instigated by a small but well-trained group of armed agitators.

The proclamation of martial law on September 21, 1972, damped down both student activism and the CPP's urban-guerrilla movement. The bulk of the CPP-NPA leadership in Manila itself escaped to NPA base areas in the equally mountainous Albay Sorsogon area of the Bicol region of Southern Luzon. To keep up its presence in Manila and the other big cities, the CPP in April 1973 initiated the organization of a National Democratic Front (NDF), with both the NPP and the NPA as component organizations. The NDF was meant to coordinate the "legal struggle" against the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship" in poor city communities of the archipelago. Owing to setbacks in the field against the AFP, the CPP at the same time began to decentralize its operations and scatter its cadres all over the archipelago -- there to set up guerrilla fronts, "in the major islands first, and the smaller islands later."

Part III

HK161206 Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 15 May 85 pp 1, 14

["Part III" of a "white paper" on the communist insurgency by staff members of the Ministry of National Defense, Office of Media Affairs, and the President's Center for Special Studies -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] CAPTURE OF TOP CPP-NPA LEADERS

Between 1976 and 1977 the CPP-NPA suffered a major setback. An intensified AFP campaign led to the capture of virtually all the prime movers of the CPP-NPA, including Sison himself and Buscayno, the NPA chieftain. All told, the AFP campaign over the ten years from 1972 to 1982 resulted in the capture of 39 Politburo members, 401 regular Party members and 6,057 members of mass organizations belonging to both PKP-Huks and the CPP-NPA.

Among those arrested in January 1976 were Central Committee members Juanito Canlas, Cesario Diego, Saturnino Ocampo and Jose Luneta; Roger Posadas, head of the NPA's Military Research Department; and Carlos Jacinto, secretary of the CPP's Central Publishing House. Buscayno, commander-in-chief of the NPA and number two in the CPP hierarchy, was captured on August 26, 1976, in a barrio of Pampanga. Sison himself was arrested on November 10, 1977, in a village of San Fernando, the capital town of La Union in the Ilocos region.

CPP AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

There is no evidence that -- except for a brief period in the early 1970s -- the CPP-NPA receives assistance from any foreign government. Arms shipments from abroad intercepted by the AFP have generally been insignificant, and appeared to have been direct purchases from international gunrunners rather than outright grants from any foreign source.

Whatever money aid the CPP-NPA receives from abroad comes mainly from individual donations and occasional contributions from radical and left-wing political groups in Europe and the United States.

Current CPP publications indicate the Party has purposely avoided taking sides in the Sino-Soviet conflict. In fact, it has been critical of both China and the Soviet Union. While generally approving of China as an anti-imperialist force in the world, the CPP has criticized specific Chinese policies -- for one, Beijing's announced support for the American naval and air bases in the Philippines. The CPP also criticized the Soviet Union for invading Afghanistan and aiding the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, as violating the principle of self-determination for all nations that the USSR professes.

This relative isolation of Philippine Communism from the mainstream movement in the world -- which affects both the CPP and the PKP -- continues a historical trend. In its earliest period, the PKP kept up links with the Communist International only through the American and Chinese parties. (A representative of the Philippine branch of the Communist Party of China sat in its first politburo).

NPA STRENGTH AND EXTENT OF INFLUENCE

NPA strength and the extent of its influence have been extensively reported -- and often exaggerated. Current intelligence estimates place the number of its guerrillas at between 10,000 and 12,000 regulars, only two-thirds of whom are armed. Very few of even these full-time guerrillas are committed -- politicized -- Communists. Some are plain criminals, local bandits or bored young people seeking adventure. The great majority are "millenarians" -- a type of peasant rebel common to the indigenous revolutionary tradition. They have their own reasons for being dissatisfied with the established order, their own expectations; their own goals, their own symbols and rituals -- in short, their own view of the world -- and this does not conform with what the ideologues in the CPP-NPA regard the world as being.

The NPA has political and military infrastructure in some four percent of the country's 41,615 barrios. Its armed propaganda units occasionally visit another nine percent of all villages. The main NPA operational areas are the Cordilleras of Northern Luzon, the hinterlands of Samar and Panay Islands in the Visayas group, and the mountainous regions of Mindanao Island. Intelligence estimates the CPP-NPA mass base at less than one percent of the country's entire population.

The CPP-NPA classifies its insurgency as being at the "advanced stage of the strategic defensive" -- the first of three stages in "people's war." Militarily, the NPA guerrillas still are very inferior to AFP troops. Though they often raid civilian militia camps to seize weapons, they have never held their ground in an encounter with AFP regulars. Since 1982 the CPP-NPA has lost another 119 key leaders -- including ten members of the Party Central Committee. Among them were Noel Etatang, CPP Central Committee Member and Secretary, Western Visayas Regional Party Committee; Arturo Tabara, Secretary, Eastern Visayas Regional Party Committee; Alan Jasminez, head, Kawanihan sa Tulong Ugnayan (KTU); Victor Gerry, Regional Secretary, Regional United Front Group and United Front Group Secretariat of the CPP; Horacio Morales, Chairman, National Democratic Front (NDF); Fr. Edicio de la Torre, head, NDF Propaganda Committee; Antonio Moancupa, Secretary, National Independent Political Forces, NDF; Isagani Serrano, head, National Commission on Mass Movements; Edgar Jopson, Chairman, Mindanao Commission and Zacarias Agatep, a rebel priest.

These losses among the CPP-NPA elite have worsened a leadership problem precipitated by the capture of Sison and Buscayno. Intelligence notes the lack of qualified second stringers and ideologically motivated cadres in the CPP-NPA hierarchy.

THE CPP-NPA INSURGENCY

After more than 15 years of "people's war," the CPP-NPA insurgency has begun to differ in practical ways from its Chinese model -- many aspects of which have proved inapplicable to Philippine conditions. Though they remain Maoist in orientation, CPP-NPA leaders claim to have indigenized people's war -- adapting it to the geography of the archipelago and the political culture of its inhabitants. Setbacks in the field have forced them into flexibility; and their continuing feud with the PKP has strengthened their determination to avoid the mistakes of the Huk insurgency in the 1950s.

BEGINNINGS OF THE INSURGENCY

Initially conceived as a propaganda apparatus, the NPA on its founding in March 1969 engaged in political work among the peasants in Central Luzon, where most of its first guerrilla regulars came from. However, barely three months afterward, Government forces discovered the main NPA camp in Capas, Tarlac province. AFP operations drove the insurgents to Isabela province in the Cagayan Valley of Northeast Luzon. There the mountainous terrain, the region's relative isolation and active popular support made it seem an ideal site for a guerrilla base similar to Mao Zedong's "liberated area" in Yen-an during the Chinese revolution.

Working feverishly, the guerrillas set up operational bases throughout the Cagayan Valley. Eventually, their influence came to be felt in Isabela and adjoining areas in Cagayan, Kalinga-Apayao, Quirino, Ifugao, Mountain Province and Nueva Vizcaya. From their Luzon "Yenan," in late 1971 -- a period of political turmoil in Manila -- NPA units ventured to Southern Tagalog, the Bicol region, the Visayan islands and Mindanao in the south.

Then, in early July 1972, a seaborne PC patrol sent to verify the presence of an unidentified vessel anchored off Digoyo Point in Palanan town, Isabela, on the east coast of Luzon, found an abandoned seagoing fishing boat, the "Karagatan I." The soldiers boarded the vessel to tow it, but insurgents ashore pinned them down with small-arms fire. This incident triggered off a large-scale AFP operation against a guerrilla group holding Digoyo Point and adjoining areas. From the ship the troops recovered a cache of weapons, including rocket launchers, and communications equipment. By this time, however, the gunrunners had safely landed 1,000 M-16 rifles, which the NPA distributed among the three companions of regular guerrillas then in Isabela.

Intelligence later found out the Karagatan landing had been part of an ambitious fire-arms procurement program codenamed Operation Bilis ("Fast"). It was meant to speed up the transformation of NPA recruits into fighting units -- and the material was supposed to come from foreign sources.

Complementary to this effort to build up rural guerrilla units, the CPP was accelerating its agitation and propaganda in the big cities. In Metro Manila, agitators stirred up large-scale demonstrations and strikes. The so-called First Quarter Storm of 1970, spearheaded by the CPP front, Kabataang makabayan ("Nationalist Youth"), was marked by riotous rallies and demonstrations. This climaxed in the bloody "Battle of Mendiola" of January 30, as troops fought off a militant attack on Malacanang Palace, the President's official residence.

MARTIAL LAW

As early as 1970 the CPP had been anticipating the declaration of martial law. It welcomed the prospect of military rule as the means of speeding up the revolutionary upsurge it was fomenting. To prepare the minds of partisans, cadres used the slogan "People's War: the Answer to Martial Law" from 1970 on. Subsequently, the Party published a manual, What to Do in Case of Raids, Arrests and Martial Law to provide its cadres with guidelines on their basic rights in case of searches or arrests. CPP contingency plans were put to a test when President Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus in August 1971.

Martial law in September 1972 nevertheless found the insurgents insufficiently prepared. A powerful AFP counterinsurgency drive during 1973-76 broke the back of the CPP/NPA. In February 1974 the authorities frustrated another gunrunning project, involving the ship "Dona Andrea II." Five months later, a clandestine program to make explosives was busted by intelligence operatives in Metro Manila. A series of AFP operations during 1976 and 1977 resulted in the capture of both CPP chairman Jose Ma. Sison, alias "Amado Guerrero," and NPA head Bernabe Buscayno, alias "Kumander Dante." These and similar setbacks in the nonmilitary field forced the CPP leaders seriously to rethink their overall strategy.

SHIFT IN NPA STRATEGY

The student radicals who founded the CPP in 1968 had prided themselves on being "guided by Mao Zedong thought." Plunging into the work of fomenting revolution without possessing the guerrilla experience of the Huk-PKP elders they despised, they slavishly followed the Maoist textbook of protracted "people's war." By the early 1970s, however, their misguided attempt to create a Philippine Yanan in the Sierra Madre range of Eastern Luzon had patently failed. For the supposedly remote provinces of Isabela and Quezon proved to be within easy reach of the AFP. Counterinsurgency operations in the wake of the Karagatan incident and after the proclamation of martial law took a heavy toll of NPA regulars.

In 1974 the Communist leadership decided the country's geographic conditions made impossible the setting-up of any single large, "liberated" area. As the CPC chairman, Amado Guerrero, wrote then: "In a small, fragmented country like the Philippines, it would be foolhardy for the central leadership to ensconce itself in the limited area... and consequently invite the enemy to concentrate his own forces there." Rather, the CPP should work to set up guerrilla fronts in "a few major islands first, then the other islands later."

Guerrero called this recourse forced on the CPP-NPA the strategy of "centralized leadership, decentralized operations." Since the terrain was shredded and the local communities diverse, each guerrilla front must unavoidably be as self-sufficient as possible. Of necessity, the cadres who organize and lead them must work largely on their own. Though required under normal conditions to report every one or two months, most guerrilla fronts are largely cut off from the Central Committee based somewhere in Luzon. The latter can do little more than formulate general policies and guidelines, which the regional committees and guerrilla-front cadres interpret according to the local circumstances and their own inclination.

THREAT OF WARLORDISM

Intelligence analysts foresee dangers for the NPA in this concept. It could at the very least encourage insubordination by ambitious regional cadres; and it is not far-fetched to see this system as evolving into a pattern of NPA warlords. This was what happened in China in the interval between the fall of the Manchu Empire and the success of Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition to reunify the country under the Kuomintang.

An excess of terrorism can also result easily from this arrangement. So can instances of regional cadres feathering their own nests while ostensibly raising funds for the movement. The reports of NPA ventures into marijuna cultivation in Northern Luzon may be traceable to this strategy.

GUERRILLA FRONTS

The CPP-NPA defines a "guerrilla front" as an area which has its own Party organization, its network of mass organizations, and an NPA unit that can function more or less independently over a long period of time. A front encompasses several adjacent towns and barrios, each territorial unit being called a guerrilla zone. A guerrilla zone is in turn made up of several guerrilla bases.

Guerrilla forces in the fronts are usually controlled by the regional Executive Committee. Political cadres working in each front provide the guerrillas political and ideological guidance. In regions with better developed Party organizations, where political and military functions have been separated, the guerrilla forces have their own operational commands.

Guerrilla forces are normally organized into full-time guerrillas, who engage in purely military work; armed political workers, whose primary task is to organize local organs of political power; the so-called Sparrow Units, which are responsible for assassinations and similar violence; unarmed political workers, who do preliminary surveys of barrios prior to CPP-NPA expansion work; and militia units that protect CPP-NPA influenced barangays and aid regular NPA forces in military operations.

Guerrilla fronts exist in various parts of the country, generally in the less-accessible and more mountainous regions on the borders between provinces. These include the Cordillera areas of Northern Luzon; the so-called Quezon-Bicol Zone, composed of Quezon province and the two Camarines provinces; the hinterlands of Panay and Samar Islands in the Visayas; the mountainous spines of Mindanao particularly in Administrative Regions 10 and 11. These Mindanao fronts are the most active and most advanced.

Why this is so is easy to explain. Mindanao offers the insurgents the largest Philippine land-mass away from center of Government. Operating from the four mountain ranges that traverse the island, the NPA guerrillas are within reach of all the plateaus and strips of lowland where Mindanao's population is concentrated. Since 1981 the Mindanao fronts have initiated a relatively widespread tactical offensive. Today guerrilla operations on the island are being staged on an average of three a week.

Part IV

HK170814 Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 16 May 85 pp 1, 13

["Part IV" of a "white paper" on the communist insurgency by staff members of the Ministry of National Defense, Office of Media Affairs, and the President's Center for Special Studies -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Development of the guerrilla fronts is sharpening the distinction between regular guerrillas and political cadres. Where regulars once **were** required to do political and propaganda work interchangeably with Party cadres, they are now being confined to military work and guerrilla activities. Activists recruited from local united-front organizations or mass movements are more and more promoted to purely political and propaganda missions. This development is liable to generate friction and rivalries between the military and political leaderships within the CPP-NPA.

NPA ATROCITIES

NPA operations at present are meant primarily to seize firearms and ammunition -- which the guerrillas need badly -- and secondarily to impress on local people the insurgent strength. Most of these activities involve the ambush of small AFP units and Government vehicles; the assassination of local officials, soldiers and suspected informers; attacks on isolated barrios and municipal buildings; the disarming of local militias and civilian holders of firearms; kidnaping and liquidation of "uncooperative" civilians; arson, bombings or sabotage of agro-industrial firms; extortions, robberies and holdups to raise funds.

From 1981 to August, 1984, 2,320 military men and 2,602 civilians were killed by the CPP-NPA insurgents. These figures indicate the wanton character of NPA operations; civilian casualties almost approximate the AFP's losses. In 1984 alone the NPA killed over a hundred local officials, including ten municipal mayors, for resisting their efforts to impose their clandestine government on local populations.

Ex-insurgents who have returned to the Government side are another major target as "traitors to the Communist cause." A prime example is Jaime Bernal, a key witness in the subversion case against Central Committee member and National Democratic Front (NDF) head, Horacio "Boy" Morales. Bernal was gunned down in October 1982 -- although he had done the insurgency signal service: in 1981 he had organized the shipment to the Philippines of 150 AK-47 assault rifles from the Middle East. Bernal was killed because he was about to reveal sensitive information about the CPP to a military court.

The NPA also commonly resorts to "propaganda by terror." In Tagum town, Davao del Norte province, for instance, NPA killers clubbed to death a spinster who had refused to pay CPP "taxes"; then they hanged her already lifeless body in her own living room as a warning to other residents. For much the same reason, guerrillas swooped on a sleeping village in Asuncion town of the same province and riddled the nipa houses with rifle fire, leaving 18 barrio people killed and 30 others wounded. In Barangay Calilagan of San Pablo town, Zamboanga del Sur, NPA guerrillas fired indiscriminately into a crowd gathered to watch some local women being crowned as barrio fiesta queens, leaving 15 persons dead. The barangay had also refused to pay CPP-NPA taxes.

Even missionaries in the country's rural areas are not spared. Thus, two representatives of the Philippine Independent Church working the southern towns of North Cotabato were gunned down as they left a barrio gathering for their earlier refusal to pay NPA taxes from Church funds. A man and his wife from Lapuyan, Zamboanga del Sur, who admitted to an NPA group who visited their home that they had voted in the May 1984 elections despite the NPA order to boycott the polls were shot in cold blood. Earlier, in the same barrio, NPA terrorists had thrown grenades into a fiesta celebration, killing five persons and wounding 15 others.

NPA terrorists use all manner of execution -- some victims are beheaded with boloes; others have been burnt alive. An entire family of six in Midsalip, Zamboanga del Sur, was hacked to death by an NPA group for being "uncooperative"; in Solana, Cagayan, an NPA band set a house on fire, burning to death its six occupiers, one of them a barangay captain.

Sabotage -- mostly arson -- is directed against both the Government and the private sector. The capital equipment of agroindustrial corporations, especially in Northern Luzon and Mindanao, is a major target, both to disrupt agricultural production and to extort money from companies vulnerable to NPA attack. Loggers and sawmill operators in the Cagayan Valley and Eastern Mindanao, mining firms and construction firms in more remote areas have been subjected to various forms of NPA harassment. In Panay and Negros the insurgents have blown up high-voltage transmission towers, disrupting electric power in parts of the two Visayan Islands.

From 1981 to 1984 NPA terrorists carried out a total of 42 major sabotage activities throughout the country, damaging property valued at P328.68 million. The regions that suffered the heaviest losses were Region 2 (P188.44 million), Region 11 (P48.04 million), Region 9 (P38.7 million), and Region 10 (P24 million). In first week of April 1985, P5 million worth of heavy equipment being used by the Ministry of Public Works and Highways was burned by NPA units in Barangay Piat, Lopez Jaena town, Misamis Occidental.

Extortion is also a major part of NPA activities, for the CPP relies heavily on business firms and wealthy individuals to meet its money needs. In the Cagayan Valley the CPP yearly carries out an intensive drive, codenamed "Operation Sweet Elephant" (OSE), designed to extort fees -- ironically called "progressive taxes" from big businessmen, logging concessionaires, sawmill operators and banana dealers. OSE peaks with the regional logging season, which starts in February and ends in June. Progressive taxes levied on logging equipment account for much of the money collected through OSE.

In Mindanao the insurgents also levy progressive taxes on the machinery of logging firms and mining companies operating in Agusan and Davao provinces. Entities like the North Davao Mining Corp. and the National Development Corp.-Guthrie Palm Oil Plantation, which resist this extortion, are perennially harassed by NPA bands.

Marijuana cultivation. The CPP-NPA has gone into cultivation of the prohibited plant to raise funds in both local and foreign markets. In 1984, 11 large marijuana plantations run by the CPP-NPA were reported in the provinces of La Union, Ilocos Sur, Benguet, Mountain Province, Kalinga-Apayao, Quezon, Mindoro Oriental, Camarines Sur, Iloilo, Eastern Samar and Davao Oriental. The AFP launched two large-scale operations against CPP-NPA plantations in Cervantes town, Ilocos Sur, and in the border regions of the Cordillera provinces. Troops destroyed more than 2.6 million fully grown plants and 4.4 million seedlings. Marijuana seizures from traffickers in Northern Luzon alone amounted to over P158 million for 1984.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

In its expansion program at barrio level, the CPP-NPA follows a step-by-step method, deploying primarily cadres of the Section Committees. The Section Committee is the Party structure immediately above the Party Branch, the lowest rung of the CPP bureaucracy.

A Party Branch is set up wherever at least three Party members can work as a collective unit -- whether at home, work-place or school. In the countryside the typical Party Branch functions within a barrio or barangay. The CPP differentiates between a "barrio" and a "barangay" (The Government uses the two words as synonyms for the unit of government and politics). The Party defines a barrio as a community of from 100 to 150 families; any smaller grouping of population is a barangay.

Part V

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["Part V" of a "white paper" on the communist insurgency by staff members of the Ministry of National Defense, Office of Media Affairs, and the President's Center for Special Studies -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The PARTY BRANCH is the nucleus of all political activity of the mass organizations, militia units and other CPP units in the barrio. It is supervised by the Section Committee, which is established at municipal or district level.

Maximum membership in the Party Branch is limited to seven. Any excess members are passed up to the Section Committee, which uses them for military or party activities outside the barrio. These are usually organized in SEMI-LEGAL TEAMS (SLT), which work to convert nearby barrios to the CPP-NPA cause.

Before even entering its target barrio, the SLT team does a preliminary social investigation of it. The team studies the barrio's terrain, its distance from the nearest military or police units and its peace-and-order conditions. It notes the livelihood of the people, their political orientation, and makes a class analysis of community. Finally the SLT identifies the holders of firearms in the barrio.

Armed with this initial knowledge of the barrio and its workings, the SLT establishes the first contacts within it. These contacts, usually relatives or friends, are organized into the Barrio Liaison Group (BLG). The SLT then conducts teach-ins with the BLG, while it continues its social investigation of the barrio at closer range. The BLG also enables the SLT to expand its contacts within the barrio.

Once the SLT has set up enough contacts (usually after a month), it dissolves the BLG and forms the Organizing Groups (OGs). These are sectoral groupings of all SLT contacts within a barrio. There is an OG for men, for women and for young people. Formation of the OGs signals the start of politicization of the barrio people. This is done informally as well as formally. Informal politicization deals with topics like the basic needs of man; the simple economics of living; and the "three basic problems" the CPP-NPA identifies as facing the Filipinos: feudalism, capitalism and American imperialism. Formal politicization is done in a classroomlike atmosphere; it includes topics on Communist ideology, like the "Revolutionary Guides," "General Mass Courses," the "Mass Line" and MAO'S FIVE GOLDEN RAYS.

The OGs are also responsible for recruiting new contacts; conducting intelligence for the militia units; and serving as communications and transport groups. An OG usually works isolated from similar groupings. Members of one OG usually know nothing of other OGs.

Once every OG is functioning, the SLT sets up the People's Organizing Committees (POCs), whose scope is the entire barrio. Again, there is one POC for peasants, another for women and a third for the local youth, whose members are selected from among the most militant members of the various OGs. Strict secrecy between OGs and POCs is kept up.

Now begins the process of recruiting Party members and setting up Party Branches. Only at this stage do the Communists form their legal mass organizations in the barrio. Following the CPP-NPA penchant for sectoral groupings, there is usually one association for farmers, one for women and one for young people.

After all these associations have been set up, a BARRIO REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE (BRC) is finally established. It is made up initially of nine members: three from the barangay council, three from the Party Branches and one each from the three mass organizations. The BRC is the barrio's highest political organization. It selects members from any of the three mass organizations for integration into the NPA.

Once a number of BRCs have been organized in adjoining barrios, a new Section Committee is formed from among their memberships. The CPP-NPA then regards its influence as firmly established in the area, and the cycle of expansion is repeated in other barangays and barrios.

CLANDESTINE GOVERNMENT. The BRC functions parallel to the local government units in the area. A clandestine government, it collects "taxes" while continuing the ideological and political education of residents. If the local Party needs bodies for mass actions, a well-run BRC can usually muster half of all residents to take part.

The BRC also sets up its own judicial system and dispenses "revolutionary justice" through a "People's Court." Most trials of this sort are of local criminals; sometimes a person accused of informing for the Government is brought up for conviction and sentencing. The suspect's alleged crimes are read to him; he or she is given little chance at all to speak out. More often than not, the People's Court renders a decision of "guilty." The accused is then summarily executed. Sometimes, a hearing is done without the suspect's even being present. In such cases, a Sparrow Unit is sent out to locate and kill him.

The BRC keeps local militia units of parttime guerrillas, who become responsible for the barrio or barangay's security. Militia units also back up NPA regulars during guerrilla operations. Often enough, militia members are put up front during ambushes or attacks on Government units. When some of these are unavoidably killed in firefights, CPP-NPA propaganda passes them off as innocent peasants "salvaged" by the Government troops.

CPP-NPA RULE

Though the CPP-NPA tries to project a benign and helpful image in barrios it is trying to win over, its behavior is different in the communities it already controls. In these places the guerrillas invariably use threats and coercion to impose their will and get things done. Civilians who refuse to obey orders are liable to be executed summarily by Sparrow Units -- often in full view of their fellow-residents. Each household is assessed a monthly contribution in money or goods; equally harsh penalties are meted out to those who fail to meet the tax.

DEFECTIONS FROM THE CPP-NPA. The rigors of life underground in the cities or as guerrillas in the mountains have induced many CPP-NPA leaders to return to the fold of the law. Among those who have chosen to do so are at least three Central Committee members (Benjamin Bie, Victor Corpuz and Renato Caslpe), seven guerrilla-front leaders and hundreds of cadres and guerrillas.

Propaganda

The CPP uses agitation and propaganda to acquire and build up control over organizations and individuals, and to prevent the social and economic institutions of Government from functioning properly. CPP cadres are trained to exploit real or imaginary sources of tension and discontent among ordinary people. These cadres then indoctrinate naive individuals who innocently repeat Party propaganda to their relatives, friends and acquaintances.

CPP-NPA propaganda deals most often with military abuses; the wanton killing of civilians; the suppression of civil liberties and individual rights; the oppression of farmers and workers; and AFP support of local landlords, plantation owners or industrialists.

Even NPA casualties become propaganda tools. Unlike most other guerrilla organizations, NPA units generally carry their dead away with them from a battleground. These casualties the survivors bury well away from the scene -- sometimes close to an AFP camp. After sometime, the bodies are "discovered," usually by innocent relatives. Dead from bullet wounds, evidently buried secretly, they are easily passed off as victims of an AFP massacre or "torture" camp. Amateur civil-rights groups are particularly susceptible to this propaganda technique; their ingenuous but well-intentioned efforts often broadcast this type of CPP-NPA propaganda far beyond the confines of the region for whose specific benefit it may have been staged.

The rise of anti-Government tabloids and magazines has both eased and widened CPP-NPA use of the media to carry its propaganda. The so-called alternative newspapers, anxious to distinguish themselves from the "Establishment" press, too often bend over backward to carry anti-Government news -- the more sensational the better. This editorial policy plays right into the hands of Party propagandists, who typically use CPP front organizations or infiltrated groupings to make the first accusations about specific incidents -- "liquidations," "salvaging," "kidnapping" -- blamed on the AFP and its component units.

Apart from conducting specific propaganda against the military and the government, the CPP also tries to undermine the national economy, stir up instability and foment public unrest. For instance; Party propagandists are believed to have had a hand in circulating sometimes in 1984 flyers and leaflets in the major cities, all urging bank depositors to withdraw their money because the country's banking system was on the verge of collapse. CPP propagandists too had a hand in encouraging unscrupulous businessmen to hoard their merchandise -- creating an artificial shortage of basic commodities at a time of political instability. Ironically, once prices shot up, CPP front organizations turned around and blamed the Government for mismanaging the economy.

As a rule, CPP fronts are ordered to ride on legitimate issues and grievances -- rather than the Party's specific causes -- in their activities. In this way, the front organizations identify themselves with the legitimate Opposition. Party cadres work anonymously to stiffen the backbone of rallies and demonstrations against the Government, some 1,000 of which were held throughout the country in 1984.

The CPP-NPA's Legal Strategy

The CPP-NPA regards its struggle as twofold. It undertakes rural insurgency simultaneously with the subversion of urban centers, to sap the country's strength and its will to resist. Infiltration of legitimate groupings, the formation of front organizations and the building of a "united front" are all meant to help create the "revolutionary situation" for a CPP-NPA victory. The CPP-NPA has singled out young Filipinos, organized workers and the religious sector as the main targets of its legal strategy -- the youth because they are idealistic, dynamic and make up the biggest portion of the population; organized labor because of its relative cohesiveness, political awareness and capacity to paralyze the economy; and priests, nuns and lay religious because of their moral influence on national society.

The CPP commonly gains control or influence over student organizations by infiltrating their ranks -- typically their leadership -- with its cadres. CPP propaganda makes student grievances a major theme. Once a student group falls under CPP control, it becomes a prime tool for the Party's agitation and propaganda drives. Many cadres are commonly recruited from student ranks; some of these cadres become "professional" student-leaders, overstay in school to subvert generation after generation of students.

The CPP infiltration technique in the labor movement is similar to that used for infiltrating the villages. First, party workers establish secret liaison groups (Grupong Tagapagugnay, or GT) in target companies or factories. These GTs are made up of cadres and sympathetic workers. They do social investigation and class analysis of specific targets. Once the GTs are rooted, the cadres create workers' organizing groups (Grupong Pangorganisa ng Manggagawa, or GPM). These are secret organizations responsible for recruiting both leaders and members for a union completely controlled by the CPP. Central leadership of this union is provided by a Komiteng Pangorganisa ng Manggagawa (KPM). Once the KPM is firmly established, a Party branch is set up in the target factory or firm.

CPP infiltration of religious groups is designed to help raise Party funds, as well as to co-opt new militants and cadres. CPP cadres may infiltrate a specific religious organization primarily to tap its foreign sources of funds -- typically church-based foundations, charities or social-welfare agencies in the United States or in Western Europe -- for Party purposes. Active in the organization's secretariat, the cadres draw up "legitimate" project proposals for social action. If approved by the national bodies, these proposals are submitted to foreign funding organizations. The funds, once received are quietly diverted to CPP uses.

United-front building

Infiltration of the electoral Opposition -- which the party in its private communications contemptuously refers to as "bourgeois reformers" -- is also given high priority, particularly since the full restoration of representative processes in 1981.

A CPP document seized in August 1984 from MILAGROS AGUILAR ROQUE, head of the Party's United Front Commission, identifies the following groups and political parties as making up the "bourgeois reformists": Pilipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban); Makabayang Alyansa (MA) in northeastern Mindanao; Concerned Citizens' Alliance (CCA) in Zamboanga City; Pusyon Bisaya in Central Visayas; Social Democratic Party (SDP); the Nacionalista Party splinter group of former senator Jose Roy; the US-based organizations of Raul Manglapus and Eugenio Lopez Jr; and business, academic, religious, media and professional groups that have aligned themselves with the Opposition. The Roque Document classifies the bourgeois reformers as "leftist," "centrists" and "rightists," according to their location in the political spectrum.

The Roque document also enumerates the reasons for infiltrating the political Opposition; 1) to use the Opposition's political machinery to promote the Party's legal struggle in the cities and population centers; 2) to strengthen the structure of CPP front organizations; 3) to advance the political consciousness of leftist-leaning oppositionists; and 4) to infiltrate the ranks of Opposition sympathizers.

The CPP keeps up these linkages through national and regional alliances, the holding of joint activities and the establishment of secret contacts. Since it considers the "bourgeois reformists" only as tactical allies, the CPP is cautious in dealing with them -- realizing that while they, like the CPP-NPA, oppose the Marcos administration, they may not necessarily support the CPP's anti-American and anti-capitalist programs.

Another CPP memorandum taken from Roque documents the Party's attitude toward the demonstrations, rallies, noise barrages and other mass actions initiated by the political opposition. The CPP regards these as "an integral part of the overall revolutionary struggle," since they help create an atmosphere of instability. It instructs cadres to take advantage of mass protests to propagate the party line. These instructions invariably warn cadres to be wary in dealing with the Opposition, since it is ideologically weak and therefore susceptible to Government enticements.

UNITED-FRONT BUILDING. The CPP considers an essential part of its strategy to seize State power. A "united front" is a broad alliance of sectoral organizations and Opposition groups, working in concert through legal and extralegal means to create a revolutionary situation in the cities. This work complements the armed struggle in the countryside; it prepared the cities for eventual takeover from the countryside, at the final stage of "people's war."

Coordinating the CPP's united-front activities is a UNITED FRONT COMMISSION (UFC); the UFC's operating arm, the NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT (NDF); and the NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR MASS MOVEMENT (NCMM).

The NDF is responsible for setting up tactical alliances with other Opposition groups. It also engages in international solidarity work; the organization of "white areas" (areas under Government control) committees; and serves as a channel for interregional relationships. The NCMM specializes in infiltrating the various Opposition groups and conducts mass protest activities.

CPP cadres have successfully infiltrated some cause-oriented organizations -- particularly those interested mainly in monitoring violations of human rights by government agents. As a result, these organizations have become the unwitting vehicles of Communist propaganda. The CPP has also become adept at setting up -- at short notice -- groups or organizations with appealing names to gather popular support for the Party line on political issues as they come up.

By and large, however, the CPP's united-front strategy has been a failure. Though the NDF tries to project itself as a "non-ideological" umbrella for all forces (including the CPP-NPA) hostile to what it calls the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship," it has yet to become a GENUINE united front, accommodating parties and political groups of different persuasions. Until now, 12 years after its founding, the NDF consists almost entirely of CPP-NPA front organizations. CPP dogmatism -- its insistence that it alone is correct on most political questions -- and its tendency to dominate NDF activities alienate other leftwing and left-of-center groups. Not only does the NDF's "Ten-Point Program" virtually echo the CPP's political line. Its leading organ, the Preparatory Commission, is packed with representatives from known CPP fronts -- offering no meaningful participation in NDF decisions for other groups.

There have also been few takers within the Opposition of the NDF's call for a "coalition government" to replace the Marcos Administration. Few among the more experienced anti-Government politicians are optimistic about their chances of surviving in a coalition in which the CPP would have a part. Significantly, even leaders of labor groups that are part of CPP front organizations are beginning to resent the strict control Party cadres keep on their activities.

Finally, united-front tactics mean some CPP leaders must expose themselves, to work openly in the "white areas." This makes them vulnerable to Government counterefforts. Thus, two successive NDF leaders, HORACIO MORALES and MILAGROS AGUILAR ROQUE, were arrested in 1982 and 1984.

Part VI

HK201428 Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 18 May 85 p 28

["Part VI" of a "white paper" on the communist insurgency by staff members of the Ministry of National Defense, Office of Media Affairs, and the President's Center for Special Studies -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Efforts To Link Up With the MNLF

In 1977 the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines]-NPA made serious efforts to link up with a regional rebellion raging among portions of the Muslim community in Western Mindanao and Sulu. This was led by the "Moro National Liberation Front," (MNLF), a subversive group seeking the secession of the country's Muslim regions and their incorporation into an independent "Bangsa Moro Republic." The MNLF had been founded roughly at the same time as the CPP; its chairman, NUR MISUARI, had been associated with Sison at the University of the Philippines. Though he represented himself as a devout Muslim to would-be followers, Misuari seemed drawn to revolutionary Communism. In 1967 he served on the regional council of the Kabataang Makabayna (KM), the radical youth organization Sison ran.

Subsequently, he organized a KM chapter in his native town of Jolo, Sulu. In organizing the MNLF in 1968, Misuari patterned its leadership after Communist-type groupings, himself heading its Central Committee. He kept up his ties with the CPP-NPA, lecturing to cadres in Mao Zedong Thought in Central Luzon in March 1970 and sponsoring the showing of the Maoist propaganda film, *The East Is Red*, in Jolo in 1971.

By 1975-76 the MNLF was at its peak, capable of launching large-scale attacks against AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] troops in its areas of operation. In May 1977 the CPP's newsletter, *ANG BAYAN*, proclaimed the Party's official support of "the struggle of the Moro people." Three months later, Sison formally proposed a merger of the CPP-NPA and the MNLF and its Bangsa Moro Army under the National Democratic Front. Misuari stopped short of agreeing to a merger -- apparently because Sison had rejected, in 1972, his request for political officers and weapons for the then-fledgling MNLF. However, he allowed NPA units to operate freely in MNLF territories. Informally, the two groups are known to have cooperated in military training and propaganda work.

In 1980 MNLF planners, by then on the run, proposed joint action by the MNLF and the CPP-NPA in the Visayas and Luzon -- to create "nationwide disturbances that would draw AFP forces from the Bangsa Moro homeland in Mindanao." Captured MNLF documents suggested exploratory talks on this collaboration through NPA leaders "who are in sanctuary in the United States." However, this joint effort in terrorism never came off, because of the alertness of AFP intelligence.

In March 1983 NPA and MNLF guerrillas did conduct a joint combat operation -- an attack on Government forces in Pantukan, Davao del Norte; two MNLF men and three NPA guerrillas were killed. MNLF disenchantment with the NPAs killed a number of tribesmen in Mindanao -- Mandawes, Bilaans, Manobos, Mansakas and Dibabawons. At about this time too -- according to Nur Khan, deputy chairman of the MNLF, who returned to civilian life in February 1985 -- the MNLF began to realize the NPA was using the secessionist movement to attain its objective of overthrowing the Government and imposing Communism on all Filipinos. Since Communism is incompatible with Islam, the break became only a matter of time. It came in December 1983, when NPA terrorists massacred 53 Muslims in Davao City. To avenge their coreligionists, MNLF forces, in the Davao provinces executed 27 NPA sector commanders between December 1984 and early February 1985. Nur Khan himself was wounded in a gun battle with an NPA band in Mabini, Davao del Norte, on January 20, a few weeks before his surrender.

The outbreak of hostilities between the NPA and the MNLF has yielded documents vital to the counterinsurgency drive. These consist of lists of leaders at various levels, as well as a number of CPP-NPA supporters; the front organizations operating in the region; and lists of financial or material contributors.

As an earnest of their determination to fight the NPAs, Nur Khan and two other MNLF commanders -- Amelil Malaquiod and Jamil Lucman -- have offered to fight side by side with the Government forces against the NPA. The three claim they could muster 6,000 former MNLF fighters on the Government side.

The Government's Response to the Insurgency

The Government's response to the CPP-NPA insurgency is based on the principle that it should not be put down by arms alone. Counter-insurgency must involve not merely all agencies of Government but the people as a whole. "Search-and-destroy" operations emphasizing "body counts" -- the number of enemy troops and cadres killed -- have no place in this strategy. Only when civilian populations are put at risk by CPP-NPA action do Government forces undertake combat missions, even then, these are in the nature of expanded police operations and law enforcement tasks. The basic idea is to "clear, hold, consolidate and develop" contested areas and to integrate their populations into the mainstream of Philippine political and economic life.

The country's response to the CPP-NPA insurgency is built around a CIVIC-ACTION PROGRAM that initially involves 26 ministries and 91 Government corporations. The program will spend one billion pesos in 1985. The AFP's primary role in this effort is to clear contested areas of insurgent forces, break up their mass base and restore civil authority. Once Government control of an area is consolidated, then the civilian agencies come in -- initially to erect school builds, set up potable water systems and lay down farm-to-market roads. AFP engineer brigades are deployed for these purposes in places where security is still unstable.

The Government's continuing field operations against NPA guerrilla forces have been strengthened by recent reforms in the armed forces. In recent months NPA units had been active militarily, in a concerted effort to project a semblance of strength. However, since the fourth quarter of 1984, the AFP has been on the offensive. On average, its units now initiate 60 percent of all encounters with terrorist groups. To enhance the role of local, civilian officials in the work of keeping peace and order, municipal and city mayors have been given operational supervision and direction of policemen in their localities -- a responsibility until recently held exclusively by an Integrated Police Command that is a component unit of the AFP.

Historical Background

In 1949 the Communist Huks were a guerrilla army of 12,000 regulars supported by over a hundred thousand peasants in Central Luzon. That same year, the period of greatest danger for the Republic, President Elpidio Quirino initiated economic, political, social, social and military reforms as countermeasures against the raging insurgency. Most of these reforms were carried out by Ramon Magsaysay, who became Defense Secretary in 1950 and President in 1953.

One of the first things Magsaysay did was to restore popular faith in national elections, after the controversial presidential polls of 1949. Magsaysay mobilized teachers to be poll clerks and ROTC cadets to guard polling places in the off-year elections of 1951. He also reorganized the AFP and replaced the understrength Philippine Constabulary (PC) as the primary counterforce against the guerrillas. He placed the PC under the Department of Defense and gave the Army the job of suppressing the Huk bands. Twenty six battalion combat teams, each with 1,047 officers and men, were formed and equipped for sustained operations.

Promotions on the basis of merit and the quick dismissal or punishment of undesirable officers raised AFP morale and made it an effective force in counterinsurgency. Magsaysay also mobilized the AFP for civic and social-welfare projects in the areas being contested by the Huks. Under the policy of "attraction and fellowships," captured or surrendered Huks were offered resettlement in new farming areas opened up in the pioneer island of Mindanao.

While successive Administrations recognized agrarian unrest to be the primary cause of rural rebellion, alleviating it proved difficult, because landowning interests predominated in Congress. Until martial law in 1972, no wideranging reform law could prosper; all that Presidents could do was to chip at the basic problem little by little. In 1963, despite two land-reform laws, three provinces still had tenancy rates of 60 percent or more; 14 had more than 40 percent; 11 more than 30; and 10 more than 20.

President Manuel Roxas (1946-48) sponsored an act awarding tenants 70 percent of the crop. In practice, however, landlords continued to receive half of the yield by contributing to farm inputs. Elpidio Quirino, who succeeded Roxas, revised a Commonwealth-period concept of resettling Mindanao Island by sending former Huks to farm sites there. However, this scheme too had very limited effectiveness, owing to lack of funds and overhead capital for the new settlements.

Magsaysay as President (1954-57) pursued the policy of attraction he initiated as Defense Secretary. He introduced new trends in barrio community development. Projects like farm-to-market roads, safe wells and healthcare schemes reached many barrios for the first time. A cooperative credit financing mechanism was set up to grant credit and loans to small farmers and tenants, and institutions were set up to help tenants ease their harsh conditions. These included an Agricultural Tenancy Commission, a Court of Agrarian Relations and a Land Registration Commission. Model barrio development programs were located in the very heart of the Huk insurgency.

Carlos P. Garcia (1957-61) set up a Presidential Assistance on Community Development, which provided the logistics for barrio reform. Diosdado Macapagal (1961-65), born in Central Luzon, could only contain the dissident movement. Although his Administration saw the capture of Huk leaders Jesus Lava and Casto Alejandrino, it found no definitive solution to agrarian dissidence.

THE TURNING POINT

When President Ferdinand E. Marcos (1965-) proclaimed martial law in September 1972, he did it not only to preserve a Republic threatened by insurgency and subversion but to pave the way for rebuilding the country's outmoded political and social systems. Five days after proclaiming martial law, Mr. Marcos declared the entire country a land-reform area. A month later, he issued another decree transferring to tenants ownership of the land they tilled and providing the instruments and mechanisms for it.

Conclusion

HK201506 Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 19 May 85 p 43

["Conclusion" of a "white paper" on the communist insurgency by staff members of the Ministry of National Defense, Office of Media Affairs, and the President's Center for Special Studies -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] These two decrees dealt decisively with the historical sources of agrarian unrest, particularly in the crowded Central Plain of Luzon. Other decrees, proclamations and presidential orders created an array of community services -- credit facilities, price supports and subsidies, technological help, infrastructure like irrigation canals and access roads -- to ensure that agrarian reform works.

To give rural people a sense of participating fully in the political decisions that influence the way they live, Mr. Marcos adapted the pre-Spanish BARANGAY institution, making it the unit of local government and the medium for popular consultations and on local and national issues.

These reform measures convinced even Huk holdouts of the Marcos Administration's sincerity in dealing with peasant grievances. As a result, the PKP's [Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas] top leaders, Felicisimo Macapagal, Secretary General, and Mariano de Guzman, alias "Commander Diwa," then the Huk Commander, in October 1974 laid down their arms, pledged allegiance to the Government and offered their cooperation to the Marcos Administration.

Until now Central Luzon is largely free of CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines]-NPA influences -- because in this seedbed of agrarian dissidence, land reform has taken root and proved its efficacy. As of July 1984 the agrarian-reform program has given security of tenure to more than one million farm families all over the country. Rural farm incomes have more than doubled since 1973.

AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] "Oplan Katatagan"

In 1982 the AFP began carrying out "Operational Plan KATATAGAN" ("Stability"), a national strategy to counter threats from the CPP-NPA and other subversive groups. The strategy calls for the AFP to conduct security operations so that civil agencies may safely carry out development activities in the more isolated regions in the country. As part of this concept of combining military and civic action, a reorganization of the AFP command structure was undertaken to facilitate cooperation between civil and military agencies at regional level. Thus, Regional Unified Commands (RUC) were organized, to integrate the various AFP units -- whether belonging to the Army or the PC-INP [Philippine Constabulary-Integrated National Police] -- in any given region under one overall leadership, so that they may act in complete unity against subversive groups and consult, coordinate and cooperate with civilian agencies in the region on development work.

Reforms in Command Structure

Restructuring of the AFP organization was done through the following measures: 1) Establishment of a unified command in every region to provide command and control for units and all armed forces in the regions; 2) Organization of functional, specialized forces to provide highly trained, compact, hardhitting units for counterinsurgency; 3) Revitalization of the squad, platoon, company and battalion unit to make it more responsive to the needs of counterinsurgency; 4) Reduction of administrative and service units to free military personnel for field operations.

The AFP has also concentrated its resources on supporting the fighting man in the field. Assignments of vehicles, allocations of uniforms and individual equipment, subsistence and operations support -- these are all weighed to favor troops in the field. Operational plans and programs have been drawn up for the integrated defense and security of towns, cities and provinces. Civilian Home Defense Forces have been strengthened and intelligence capabilities improved down to barangay level. Continuous training and retraining of individuals and units are being done to meet changing operational needs.

The AFP has also undertaken expanded troop information programs on law subjects to enhance respect for human rights and improve law-enforcement procedures. Over the three months from December 1984 to February 1985, two battalions from Headquarters reserve were fielded to Mindanao to speed up the rotation of other battalions in the field.

AFP Equipment Buildup

The entire logistic system of the AFP has been redirected to place the highest priority on supporting men and units in the field, especially those in law enforcement and counterinsurgency operations. In acquiring major items of equipment, the requirements of ensuring public safety and countering the internal threats now take precedence over the need to meet any external threat. Maintenance of military equipment is being given greater emphasis, particularly the preventive and unit level maintenance of "mission-essential" equipment. Combat clothing and individual equipment requirements of soldiers in the field are being upgraded to boost morale and fighting capabilities.

This program of building equipment involves some \$100 million spread over a period of five years. It is expected to bring the military up to standard in organic equipment for its maneuver battalions in appropriate armor, communications, land transport for troops and combat helicopters.

The program will also install new communications equipment to improve command control. The new transport equipment will greatly improve the mobility of military units. President Marcos has also indicated plans to purchase from other friendly countries more military equipment, dependent on its availability and cost. This upgrading is under the terms of the RP [Republic of the Philippines]-U.S. Military Bases Agreement.

Generally, Mr Marcos has switched the emphasis in military aid to "nuts-and bolts" supplies and equipment rather than sophisticated and expensive defense items. This shift has been favorably acknowledged by the U.S. State Department and Pentagon officials who have visited the country to look into the counterinsurgency campaign.

Troop Discipline

In counterinsurgency, popular acceptance of the Government forces counts a great deal in their effectiveness. This can only be achieved through exemplary behavior, good relations with civilians, and equitable treatment of people, who must regard soldiers as their protectors and friends. The AFP's approach to troop discipline consists of preventive, motivational, punitive and rehabilitative actions.

Apart from the Articles of War [AW], the AFP has rules and regulations governing the behavior of its personnel. These guidelines are explained to recruits at enlistment. Erring soldiers are tried by summary courts and courts martial; if found guilty they are subject -- depending on the gravity of an offense -- to reprimands, demotion, dishonorable discharge, jail terms or even execution.

One of the most significant measures recently adopted is the amendment to AW 105, entitled "Disciplinary Powers of Commanding Officers." The amendment (P.D. [Presidential Decree] 1968) generally increased penalties for misdeameanors and minor offenses by military personnel; punishment terms (like restriction to quarters of camp limits, extra fatigue, or arrest in quarters) have been prolonged from the usual seven days to 60 days. The categories of Commanding Officers authorized to impose punishments under AW 105 have also been broadened. Eleven retraining centers of "disciplinary barracks" have been set up all over the archipelago to deal with cases under AW 105.

The AFP has increased its special group-term insurance and expanded the coverage of rest and recreation services and other benefits. Housing projects for troops and their families and similar programs are also being undertaken to improve troop welfare and morale.

Broad-Front Strategy

Few followers of subversive organizations and activist groups are die-hard believers of the movement. Many are drawn in because of association with or indoctrination by hardcore leaders. Aware of this, President Marcos has repeatedly proclaimed amnesty for certain categories of "political" offenders. During 1972-82 he issued at least ten amnesty decrees covering practically all subversive associations and their "front" organizations. Twelve amnesty commissions, assisted by provincial amnesty teams, were set up to handle proceedings.

During that period, 9,276 applications were filed, of which 8,179 were on national security offenses and the rest for illegal possession of firearms. More than 6,000 were approved and the rest are pending.

Legalization

Of a piece with amnesty in the effort at national reconciliation is the Government policy -- recently restated by the President -- toward the Opposition's proposal to legalize the CPP.

As Mr Marcos sums up the issue, any association that disavows the violent path to political power is legal. Thus, once the CPP-NPA agrees to abandon its resort to armed rebellion and violence, the Party becomes legal. However, this is unlikely to happen, for the CPP-NPA is founded on the Maoist axiom that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Some confusion has arisen recently about government policy on the legality of radical politics; and a little background will help clear up things. Republic Act 1700 -- the Antisubversion Law -- passed in 1957, declared as illegal both the PKP and its Huk guerrillas. In the 1970s Presidential Decree 885 ruled that the mere name of an association (such as the "Communist Party of the Philippines") does not make such an association illegal. P.D. 1935, issued in the early 1980s, lists specific acts of members of an association that would make their association illegal.

P.D. 885 and P.D. 1935 are not incompatible. They can stand together and are enforceable together. P.D. 1935 confirms the Congressional judgement of 1957 that the CPP, which seeks violently to overthrow the Government, is illegal. P.D. 885 provides that any organization -- under whatever name for whatever political purpose -- that disavows violence or illegal means to gain political power is a legal organization.

AFP Priorities for 1985

The AFP has two basic tasks: ensuring national defense and security and aiding civil agencies in carrying out the national development program. It has now focused its efforts on containing and reducing the CPP-NPA insurgency and preventing a resurgence of MNLF activities. Since 1984 it has been carrying out various measures and activities aimed at keeping the people's faith in the AFP; enhancing the discipline and morale of its personnel; and improving its operational effectiveness.

The AFP's participation in the National Civic-Action Program is a key area of activity in 1985. This involves collaborating with the Ministries of Public Works and Highways and Local Governments as well as governors, mayors and other local officials to carry out infrastructure, health, education and other development programs in areas where security conditions are unfavorable. Priority areas are Regions 9, 10, 11 and 12. Initial projects consist mostly of schoolbuildings, barangay roads, small water systems and communal irrigation.

Paramilitary Measures

The integration of local police forces with the Constabulary to form territorial forces has strengthened the Government's campaign against insurgency. With rigorous training, improved arms and equipment, the police forces have been converted into effective counterinsurgency fighters. Given better pay, fringe benefits and allowances, they are shedding their old reputation for indiscipline and apathy. Safeguards have also been adopted to prevent their reverting to their old-society roles as the instruments of local politicians.

On the assumption that people in the critical areas would be best motivated if they are defending their homes from terrorist attack, Mr. Marcos has ordered the organization of Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) in the threatened areas. The organization is an outgrowth of Barrio Self-Defense Units, organized during the 1970s in the South, primarily to help regular military units ward off attacks by secessionist forces. Receiving arms and fringe benefits comparable with those of the Integrated National Police, these CHDF units often perform creditably alongside regular units.

Integrated Security Plan

The President recently approved an integrated security plan for every city, town and province throughout the country. This plan is designed to protect and secure population centers, public utilities and vital installations from insurgent attacks and atrocities. It was drawn up by the military following closely the national strategy enunciated by Mr. Marcos to "clear, hold, consolidate and develop."

ENRILE: COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZED DAVAO SUMMIT

HK180400 Manila BUSINESS DAY in English 17 May 85 p 24

[Excerpt] Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile yesterday said the May 7 Mindanao summit held in Davao was organized by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its political arm, the National Democratic Front.

The summit was called by various opposition groups in Mindanao to discuss the problems of militarization and the economy with government officials.

In a privilege speech at the Batasang Pambansa, Enrile said he was not invited to the summit, refuting a new report in a Mindanao paper that his non-attendance "was a reflection of the insensitivity of government to problems of the people particularly in the Mindanao region."

However, Enrile said that even if he were invited, he would not have honored it because the summit was a "handiwork of the CPP and NDF."

He said documents were captured proving their involvement. Their purpose, Enrile said, was "to legitimize their status as a movement purportedly espousing dialogue and democratic principles."

Enrile also said the CPP and NPA sought to use the "Welgang Bayan" last May 3 "to gain strategic advantage in the summit meeting."

Enrile quoted from the "captured documents" originally written in Cebuano: "The strike will be concluded after two days... No negotiations must be made with local bureaucracy or the military during or shortly after the strike ends. This is because of the impending Mindanao summit..."

The document continued: "The participation of the state in the summit must be understood and recognized by the people as a political victory for us..."

Enrile said the CPP and NDF sought to build up, through the strike, the appearance of a strong political front to have a degree of leverage during their projected summit.

MP Homobono Adaza (Makabayang Alyansa-Misamis Oriental), who attended the summit, said government officials should dialogue with everyone irrespective of ideology.

Enrile replied: "Knowing the summit to be a handiwork of the NDF, they are not interested in solving problems..."

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